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TELL EL-AMARNA



Also by J. D. S. Pendlebury

**AEGYPTIACA: A CATALOGUE OF EGYPTIAN
OBJECTS IN THE AEGEAN**

**HANDBOOK TO THE PALACE OF MINOS
AT KNOSSOS**

**THE CITY OF AKHENATEN. PART II
(With Dr. H. Frankfort)**

Tell el-Amarna

by

J. D. S. PENDLEBURY



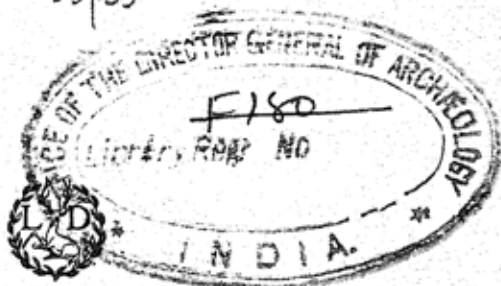
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LONG live the Horus, Strong Bull, Beloved of Aten; the Two Ladies, Great in Sovereignty in Akhetaten; the Golden Horus, Upholding the name of Aten; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Living in Truth, Lord of the Two Lands, Nefer-kheperu-ra Wa-en-ra (Beautiful are the forms of Ra, the Unique one of Ra); the Son of Ra, Living in Truth, Lord of Diadems, Akhenaten (It is well with the Aten); Great in his length of days, who giveth life for ever and ever.

The Hereditary Princess, Great of Favour, Mistress of Happiness, Gay with the two feathers, at hearing whose voice one rejoices, Soothing the heart of the King at home, pleased at all that is said, the Great and Beloved Wife of the King, Lady of the Two Lands, Nefer-neferu-aten Nefertiti (Beautiful are the Beauties of the Aten, a beautiful woman comes), living for ever.

"As my father the Aten liveth, I will make Akhetaten for the Aten my father in this place. I will not make for him Akhetaten south of it, north of it, west of it or east of it. And

Akhetaten extends from the south stele as far as the north stele, measured between stele and stele on the eastern mountain, likewise from the south-west stele to the north-west stele on the western mountain of Akhetaten. And the area within these four stelæ is Akhetaten in its proper self: it belongs to Aten the father; mountains, deserts, meadows, islands, upper and lower ground, land, water, villages, men, beasts and all things which the Aten my father shall bring into existence eternally for ever. I will not neglect this oath which I have made to the Aten my father eternally for ever."

Extracts from the Boundary Stelæ.

PREFACE

IT is always a pleasure to write something about Tell el-Amarna. There is always some new point of view to be discovered and some surprising conclusion to be drawn from a study of old facts. I have tried in the following pages to give some idea, first of the history of the period, then of the actual remains both of public and private buildings, and lastly of the art and religion of an age which shows such a startling break with the immemorial tradition of Egypt. I shall feel that I have succeeded in my object if I can persuade anyone to pursue further their study of this period and city, and if this book assists them to a better understanding either of works of art in museums or of a visit to this great and tragic site.

I have received much help from Mr. H. W. Fairman, who has made a new translation of the hymns quoted in the chapter on Religion and of whose suggestions and criticisms I have freely availed myself. My father too has

aided me in putting forward the layman's point of view and limitations, which it is so easy to forget when one is writing on a subject one knows technically. Mr. R. S. Lavers has been kind enough to draw several of the plans, and I am indebted to the Egypt Exploration Society for permission to reproduce both plans and photographs.

I would also like to say how much I owe to private discussions with Mr. R. Engelbach of the Cairo Museum, with Dr. H. Frankfort, Director of the Chicago University Oriental Institute's Iraq Expedition, my teacher and predecessor at Amarna, and with Mr. S. R. K. Glanville of University College, London.

In many cases I cannot remember which of us suggested a line of approach or brought some new factor to bear on the questions involved. I thank them all for their help and inspiration and apologize for any occasion where I have omitted to acknowledge the origin of a suggestion.

The spelling of proper names is admittedly a problem. I have adhered to the forms which I think are most generally familiar: thus Thothmes not Tuthmosis, Khufu not Cheops, Meryra not Mery-re. But consistency is almost impossible to attain.

Tell el-Amarna is not usually included in the itinerary of a visitor to Egypt. This is partly due to the not undeserved reputation for wickedness on the part of the inhabitants, though this has in modern times been largely the fault of the tourist who flings indiscriminate *bakshish*. But the main reason lies in the fact that it is difficult of access, and now that the painted pavement is no longer *in situ*, only the most ardent and strenuous are prepared to spend their energies on a tiring trip to the distant tombs, which—it is a common fallacy—are the only things worth seeing. But those who are prepared to spend a long day will find their reward, not only in the view of the remains of one of the greatest royal capitals of antiquity, but also in the enjoyment of scenery and colouring which has few parallels in all Egypt.

Arrival by land is complicated by the fact that the two stations, Der Mowas and Mellawi, are on the far bank and at some distance from the river. Arrangements must be made ahead for a boat if you arrive at Mellawi station (from Deir Mowas there is a public ferry of doubtful regularity), and in any case for donkeys to meet you on the bank when you have crossed. Unheralded arrival means a

complete absence of transport at the proper price of 5 piastres the donkey and 3 the boy, and also of the guards who are supposed to keep the keys of the tombs.

The following route is a suggestion for a strenuous day's trip. Drive out by car from Mellawi (about 25 piastres) to Esba Gelal Basha opposite the North Cliff. Here meet, by arrangement, a boat (it will be about 20 piastres for the whole day) to ferry you across to the North City (p. 44), where perhaps the donkeys from Et-Till which you ordered are waiting. Thence visit the North tombs, particularly those of Huya (No. 1, p. 47), Meryra (No. 4, p. 49) and Paneḥsy (No. 6, p. 50). This will take a good hour. From there ride along the cliffs for about 20 minutes to the great stele (U, p. 37). A very enthusiastic visitor might proceed from here to the Royal Tomb (p. 60) which lies a good hour up the lonely valley with magnificent scenery which opens off to the left just beyond the stele. The guard must be warned beforehand. Others, however, had better pass over the spur to the Workmen's village (p. 57) and the Tomb Chapels (p. 58), which are about half an hour or a little more from the stele. Thence to the Southern

group of tombs, the most impressive of which are those of Mahu (No. 9, p. 51) and Ay (No. 25, p. 54). These are about 15 minutes from the Tomb chapels. Then turn back towards the village of Hagg Qandil by the river and visit the house of the Vizier Nakht (p. 42). This lies about 25 minutes from the South tombs. From here you can either take the Royal Road (the modern carriage road) which leads up to the Royal Estate (p. 83) or take High Priest Street a little further east which leads you through the sculptors' quarter (p. 42) and emerges between the east end of the Royal Estate and the Records Office (p. 40). North of this lies the Great Temple (p. 70), now partly filled in. From here you pass the modern village of Et-Till and enter the North Suburb (p. 42), near the north end of which to the right of the road and on a corner lies the typical house described below (p. 101). Some way beyond is the North Palace (p. 98), and half a mile further is the North City. It takes about an hour and a quarter to walk here from Nakht's house exclusive of stops.

Should you decide to take the ferry from Der Mowas you will land at Hagg Qandil,

see Nakht's house first and complete the circle in the opposite direction.

To enjoy the tombs as they deserve you should certainly have a Baedeker, whose account cannot be bettered. But I hope that for the rest this book may be of some assistance. Apart from the tombs the actual remains may seem disappointing to those accustomed to the magnificent masonry of Karnak. Mud brick is not a very romantic material. But once you put behind you the expectation of splendour, you will find an equal pleasure in exploring these homely remains.

INTRODUCTION

EXCAVATIONS have been in progress at Tell el-Amarna for over forty years, and still the site has lost none of its fascination and interest. It is not merely that the famous head of Nefertiti was found here, nor yet that Tutankhamen began his reign here. There must be, I think, some inherent romance in the idea of a royal city, built at the whim of a Pharaoh in a hitherto uninhabited spot, founded, inhabited and deserted within the half of a generation and left a wilderness again to this day. It was for its short span of life the capital of the greatest empire in the world. It was the scene of a fantastic experiment in monotheism while that empire was going to rack and ruin. In it was despatched the whole of the business of the realm. In its streets were represented all the nations of the known world, Minoans, Mycenæans, Cypriots, Babylonians, Hittites, Jews and a score of other races, while in the background the old life of Egypt went on unchanged and unaffected.

It is perhaps then because we are excavating a cross-section in the life of a whole nation during one of the most dramatic periods of history that Tell el-Amarna is so absorbing a site.

No doubt the extraordinary character of Akhenaten, the Pharaoh, himself has something to do with it. He is not, as has been claimed, the first individual in history. In fact we know less about him personally than about many of his predecessors. But he was the first rebel against the established order of things whom we know, the first man with ideas of his own which ran counter to all tradition, who was in a position to put those ideas into practice.

But certainly one of the most fascinating points about the work is that we are concerned with the private lives of the whole population, slave and noble, workman and official and the royal family itself. So strong is this homely atmosphere that we feel we really know as individuals the people whose houses we are excavating. Alike as these houses are in plan, each one shows little variations indicating the tastes as well as the profession of its owner. We can see how Hatiay, overseer of works to Pharaoh, took

advantage of his command of labour and materials to appoint and fit his house as not even the king could afford to do. We can see how on an increase in wealth he built a new porch and screened off the old entrance so that his visitors should be led round to see and admire his fine chapel and garden. We can see how the children's toys were sometimes given a political flavour that is very modern. The little figurines of monkeys are carved into a scandalous caricature of the royal family. There is a sculptor's trial piece representing the king, before he had had his morning shave, with a scrubby beard. We can see the hoard of a burglar who had perhaps raided some state treasury; how he had melted down all the gold he had stolen into rough ingots in a mould formed by making a groove in the sand with his finger. The silver cups and rings he had crushed up ready for the melting-pot. A few fragments he had cut from the ingots for his immediate needs, the rest he had put into a common earthenware jar with a saucer over it for a lid and, as if for a mascot, a little figure of a Hittite god with a gold cap was put in too. The jar was cunningly placed quite openly and carelessly in the corner of a small courtyard he shared with

his neighbours. So normal a sight was it that when we found it our workmen did not think at first that it was worth the trouble of emptying.

It is this atmosphere of actually living among the people whose lives and customs we are trying to discover that gives Tell el-Amarna its universal appeal.

Before approaching the site itself we must set it against its historical background. This will take us back many centuries, for the events which led up to the foundation of the city are themselves bound up with the history of the whole Egyptian Empire. The first chapter then will be entirely historical. The internal history of the "Amarna Period" is exceedingly obscure, and in order to avoid confusion I have thought it better to give a consistent picture and not to obtrude a lot of arguments. This picture must be, in the absence of documentary evidence, highly theoretical. But it does seem to me to fit the facts as we know them at present. Based as it is mainly on the results of excavation, where even a broken ring bezel may be a piece of evidence of the first order, it may easily be modified or even flatly contradicted by future discoveries, but at the moment it seems workable.

The name Tell el-Amarna is an artificial one, and is applied to the whole district once occupied by the city of Akhetaten, the Horizon of the Disk. The Bedawi tribe called Beni Amrân settled in this district about the beginning of the eighteenth century A.D. One of their villages they called Et-Till, or more explicitly Et-Till el-Amarna (plural of Amrân). Early visitors assumed that Till was the same as *Tell*, a mound, and the mistake has been perpetuated. It is an unsatisfactory name, for the site in no way resembles the *tells* of Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia, which are the result of a long period of habitation covering a comparatively small area and gradually rising as the buildings of one period are destroyed and others constructed upon the ruins. However, the name has stuck and has even the official recognition shown by the name of a railway station on the opposite bank. The abbreviated forms el-Amarna and Amarna are also in general use, but Amarnah and Amarneh are solecisms, since the word is a true plural.

Wilkinson was the first of modern travellers to interest himself in the site. He visited it in 1824, saw some of the North group of tombs and identified the town as the Alabastron of

the ancients. A little later various artists and scholars, among them Hay, Nestor l'Hôte, and Lepsius copied some of the scenes from the North tombs, while the Prussian expedition of 1845 produced some very fine engravings for the *Denkmäler* of Lepsius. Between 1883 and 1893 Maspero and others of the French mission cleared both groups of tombs from débris. But not much attention was paid to the site until in 1887 a peasant woman, digging for *sebakh* (brick-dust manure), unearthed the celebrated "Amarna Letters." These were tablets of baked clay inscribed in cuneiform and proved to be the official correspondence of the period. They were taken to authorities in Cairo and Paris who had no hesitation in pronouncing them forgeries. They were then hawked up and down Egypt in a sack, during the course of which nearly half were destroyed. Eventually their importance was realized and they were honourably housed in Cairo, London, Paris and Berlin. But it is heartbreaking to think of our loss, for the fragments which are left are our sole evidence for the fall of the Egyptian Empire and the vividness of their descriptions makes them the most lively documents which have come down to us from antiquity. They have been ex-

haustively published by Winckler and Knudtzon.

Following the discovery of their value, excavations took place under the direction of Bouriant, Barsanti, Grébaut and others. The doubtless interesting results of these have never been published, though a summary description of the equally summary clearance of the Royal Tomb has appeared in *Monuments du Culte d'Atonou*, I. But in 1891-2 Petrie in the course of a short season partially excavated and planned many of the official buildings in the centre of the city as well as a number of houses further south. These were published in *Tell el-Amarna*, one of the most useful books on the site ever written.

From 1902-05 N. de Garis Davies on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund undertook and completed the gigantic task of copying the scenes and inscriptions from the rock tombs and the boundary stelæ. This definitive publication appeared in the six volumes of *The Rock Tombs of el-Amarna*. Then, in 1907, the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft obtained the concession and began a systematic scheme for clearing the whole site. For some years the work was confined to surveying the country round, and to small trial excavations. These

were described by Timme in *Tell el-Amarna vor dem Deutschen Ausgrabungen*, which appeared in 1917. In 1911, however, they began at the south end of the site and steadily progressed northwards along "High Priest Street." Many of the architectural discoveries have been published by Ricke in *Der Grundriss des Amarna Wohnhauses* (1932), but for a description of the excavation and of the objects found we are still dependent on the preliminary reports in the *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft*, Nos. 34, 46, 50, 52, 55 and 57, and to the sumptuous presentation of the head of Nefertiti by Borchardt, *Porträts der Königen Nofret-ete*.

With the War the German right to the concession lapsed, and in 1921 the Egypt Exploration Society took over the work, which it has continued ever since. The expedition was in 1921 under the late Professor T. E. Peet and in the winter of 1921-22 Dr. C. L. Woolley was in command. A good deal more of the South town was excavated, linking on to the work of the Germans, and in addition Maru-Aten, a pleasure palace south of the city, most of the walled village of the necropolis workmen, the tomb chapels which lie above it and the later River Temple in the village

of Hagg Qandil were cleared and published in a preliminary form in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VII and VIII, and finally in the memoir *City of Akhenaten*, Part I. In 1924-25 the late Mr. F. G. Newton and the late Professor F. Ll. Griffith were in charge. They cleared a great deal more of the South city, and began the North Palace near Et-Till. Their reports are to be found in *J.E.A.* XII and XVII. In 1924-25 Mr. Newton was to have been in sole command. After his tragic death at Assiut, Professor Whittemore finished the season. The North Palace was completed as well as a complicated building at the very north end of the city. These are described in *J.E.A.* XII; but a magnificent work was published as a memorial to Mr. Newton called *The Mural Paintings of El-Amarneh*. In this the exquisite frescoes of the North Palace are described and figured. In 1926-27 Dr. H. Frankfort did some preliminary work on the Great Temple, cleared the Hall of Foreign Tribute and the Official House of Panehsy, and began work on the North Suburb which lies just north of the Great Temple. This was continued in the spring of 1929. Preliminary reports appeared in *J.E.A.* XIII and XV. The present writer took over in 1930-31 and

excavations have been carried on every year since. The North Suburb has been completed and together with the Desert Altars has been finally published in the memoir *City of Akhenaten*, Part II. Some houses and a great gateway and palace have been excavated in the North city, while work is still progressing in the Official Quarters of the Central City where the Great Temple and other buildings have been finally cleared. Preliminary reports have appeared in *J.E.A.* XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, and the Memoir *City of Akhenaten*, Part III, will soon be brought out. In addition to this, in 1931-32 the Service des Antiquités d'Egypte gave funds for the re-excavation on their behalf of the Royal Tomb, a short note on which appeared in the *Annales du Service*, XXXI. In the same number is to be found the important article by R. Engelbach on the body hitherto believed to be that of Akhenaten.

Many studies of the Amarna period have been written. The best known in English are *The Amarna Age* by James Baikie, which is useful as taking into account the surrounding civilizations, and *The Life and Times of Akhenaten* by A. Weigall, which is spoiled to a certain extent by sentimentalism. Incidental chapters are to be found in the *Cambridge Ancient History*,

J. Breasted's *History of Egypt* and H. R. Hall's *Ancient History of the Near East*.

Eduard Meyer has a very fine chapter on Amarna in his *Geschichte des Altertums*; H. Schaeffer's small book, *Amarna in Religion und Kunst*, is good; Dr. Frankfort's chapter in *The Mural Paintings of El Amarnah* gives by far the clearest idea of the origins and aims of Amarna art; the articles of Professor P. E. Newberry and S. R. K. Glanville in the *Journal of Egyptian Archæology* have thrown a flood of light on the period, while the latter's chapter in Mrs. Brunton's book, *The Great Ones of Ancient Egypt*, presents the most satisfactory account of the family relationships yet published.

So much for the literature of the subject.

Now, since we are dealing with a site not yet completely excavated, it will be as well to give some idea of the method of excavation employed. The English staff numbers six or seven. In addition to the Director are the architect, the epigraphist and usually three more who have no special subject but can take on any piece of work at need. One of these acts as secretary. But the principle is that everyone must be able to do a little of everything, so that if, for instance, the architect is

taken ill the surveying will not lag behind, or if the epigraphist is taken ill the inscriptions can at least be sorted for him if not finally dealt with. The native workmen vary in number, according to the type of work being done. There are about fifteen highly trained professional excavators from Quft (Koptos near Luxor). From them the foremen are chosen. The rest of the labour is local and the number of men may run as high as a hundred. Each actual excavator has two or sometimes three children to carry away the sand he has removed. When houses are being excavated the workmen are divided up into companies each under its Qufti *reis* or foreman, while casting a benevolent eye over all is the *bashreis* or head foreman. No work is allowed to be done without the presence of one or more of the English staff. The skill displayed by some of the workmen is phenomenal. The *turiehs* or big-bladed hoes are used with the utmost delicacy, so that in some cases a thin layer of brick-dust has been revealed lying on the virgin sand when every brick of the building has disappeared; while for very fine work a knife or the fingers are used, though more frequently the Englishman in charge attends to this.

The site covers a great area, over five miles long with a breadth varying from half a mile to a mile. Where houses are closely packed as they are here it is essential to have some convenient method of referring to them. In very few cases do we know the name of the owner of a particular house, so we are bound to resort to a system of numbering. But Amarna is so big a site that any consecutive system of numbering from 1 onwards would be very confusing. The Germans, therefore, divided the area to be excavated into squares of two hundred metres, the letters running consecutively from west to east and the numbers from north to south. Thus Square A. 1 would be in the north-west corner, while T. 40 is somewhere in the middle and Z. 60 would be near the south-east corner. Each house within these squares is numbered as it is excavated. Thus one can tell at a glance that T. 34. 1 is among the houses of the North Suburb lying in the *wady* or torrent bed and it needs only a few moments' search to identify it. In this way Q. 42. 21 is the Records' Office, N. 49. 1 the house of the Vizier Nakht, and so on.

As each house is excavated the objects which are found in it are registered on cards which

give the number of the house. But it so happens that the bulk of the finds consists of beads, glazed rings, amulets and pendants which were made in moulds and turn up in such vast quantities that it would be a waste of time to register them separately. But they are of the utmost importance, since many are inscribed with royal names. Now Petrie found a glaze factory and in it many of the moulds from which these small objects were made. Every type he drew carefully and these types have now been rearranged and renumbered, so that all that has to be said when registering a collection of amulets from a house is "so many of type IV. A. 6; so many I. C. 5," etc. In the same way the pottery vases are "typed," for they show very small variations from the particular class to which they belong.

All this is made easier by the fact that there is no stratification. Amarna was inhabited for so short a time that, apart from a few contemporary alterations, there is no difference in level between objects made when the city was founded and those made just before its desertion. All attempts to prove a previous occupation or a later continuation have failed. Many rubbish pits over ten feet deep have

been carefully excavated half a metre at a time to see whether any distinctions can be noted between the pottery at the bottom and that at the top, but all to no purpose. The only objects whose manufacture can be assigned to a date prior to the foundation of the city have obviously been brought there as family treasures when Amarna was first settled, and of objects of a later date only one or two have been found, and those in circumstances which point to their having been dropped by some traveller or by a party of workmen engaged in removing stones from the deserted city. Thus questions of level do not affect us except where there is some obvious point such as the collapse of a ceiling or a deliberate raising of the floor level by the owner of a house.

Before 1926 the plan of campaign had generally been to excavate in a narrow strip along the main roads. But Dr. Frankfort adopted the better plan of excavating the houses group by group and clearing whole blocks of houses between one street and another so as to see what relation each bore to its neighbours. This scheme was first put into action in the North Suburb and its success has been such that it will undoubtedly be continued.

At the moment nearly half the city has been excavated. But until the whole is cleared it is a dangerous thing to make too many historical deductions. So much depends upon the proportion of objects bearing one king's name to those bearing another's. Thus in the first few rooms of a house, or the first few houses of a block, ten scarabs or rings are found bearing the name of Akhenaten and twenty bearing the names of his successors. "Ah," we say, "it looks as if this house or block of houses was built very late in Akhenaten's reign, since the names of Smenkhkara and Tutankhamen outnumber his by two to one." But when the house or block is finished we may find that the proportion is reversed and that our provisional theory has to be scrapped.

This is one of the reasons why the excavation of the site should be completed. Besides, it is the only Royal capital of Egypt which has lain undisturbed until to-day. The period it covers is at once dramatic and obscure, and it is only through further excavation that fresh facts can be brought to light. One cannot tell in what part of the city some important historical document may come to light. A mere slum house may contain an inscription that will revolutionize history, used by the

occupant as a stool or a quern. Furthermore, when a concession is obtained a definite responsibility towards the site is taken on. Those who dig and run away, live to dig another day on another site, but they have shirked their duty by the first one. What would be said of a scholar who gave up editing a papyrus because he thought he knew what the end would be like?

Thanks to the generosity of the Brooklyn Museum, advised by that lover of Amarna, Professor Capart of Brussels, and to the munificence of Mrs. Hubbard of New York, there are great hopes that we shall be able to finish our work. And it is not only the excavation of Amarna which is important but also the publication of the results. An unpublished excavation is a ghastly waste of time and money and the worst crime an archaeologist can commit, for once a site has been excavated it is too late to go back and do it again. It would be better to allow unrestricted dealing in antiquities, let the natives grub about on their own and then buy the results, if they are worth it, than to allow an expedition to produce no permanent record of its work.

In the present case it will be a long task,

but whether it falls to us or to another Society to complete the work, Tell el-Amarna will always remain a very splendid memory to those who have had the good fortune to excavate there.

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2. Relief showing Smenkhkara and Meritaten. (*Berlin.*)
3. Fresco from the King's House showing a family group. (*Ashmolean.*)
- Plate VIII. 1. Fresco from the North Palace showing bird life in the marshes. (*Cairo.*)
2. Fresco from the Palace at Agia Triada in Crete showing a hunting cat. (*Candia.*)

I

HISTORY

ABOUT the year 1411 B.C. Amenhotep III succeeded to the throne of Egypt. His Empire was the greatest that the world had seen. The arms of Egypt had been carried by his ancestors far up the waters of the Euphrates, while to the south the Nubians of the sixth cataract acknowledged his supremacy. The imperial spirit which had inspired these vast conquests was a spirit alien to Egypt. It was the result of generations of repression while the hated Hyksos, the Shepherd Kings, had usurped the throne. When they were driven out at the beginning of the sixteenth century B.C. the pursuit did not stop at the frontier, but extended on and on into Asia. The great Pharaohs of the early XVIIIth Dynasty regarded their conquests as the continuation of the war with the invader.

The spirit of the time called forth the men. Few families can have provided such a series of fine soldiers. But more than military

genius was needed. The first four kings, Aahmes I, Amenhotep I, Thothmes I and Thothmes II, having expelled the Hyksos, had been content to make mere raids, to collect tribute from cities during the campaigning season, and to retire every year back to Egypt, leaving the conquered territories free to revolt. Then came a pause. The great Queen Hatshepsut, masculine as she was in her outlook and in her very dress, had no desire for war. She held in check her fiery young nephew Thothmes, and devoted her reign to making Egypt a rich and prosperous country within itself. Such a policy came at the right time. Much as Thothmes III hated her memory, he must have acknowledged to himself that, thanks to her, he had greater resources and a better organized country behind him than had any of his predecessors. The administrative training which he had had during the weary years of peace also stood him in good stead, for his purpose was an empire, not a hunting-ground for spoil.

Thothmes III was one of the greatest men of history. During his long reign of fifty-four years he led seventeen expeditions up into Asia. He was the first possessor of an organized and trained army. His predecessors had fought

the local dynasts of Syria on an equal footing, but now came the invincible machine, which no conglomeration of petty kinglets could resist. The Egyptian is a fine soldier provided he is well led. Here was the leader.

In those days the active presence of the commander in battle was essential, and we see Thothmes leading the way along the gorge of Aruna, where the whole army had to march in single file. It might have been a death-trap, but the results justified the risk.

In these campaigns he conquered all of Palestine and Syria, and marched as far as the Euphrates. The land was pacified, and the "campaigns" became mere parades of force. But that was not enough. Organization of the conquered territories was now the watchword, and here also Thothmes showed himself to be a genius. Egyptian residents were appointed in every important city. Travelling inspectors made their rounds. The local kings sent their sons to Egyptian Universities. In many ways the Empire resembled the Native States of India, with their English advisers and their heirs to the throne at Oxford and Cambridge. Egyptian communities sprang up everywhere with their own temples. But *Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit.*

Egypt itself was deeply influenced by Asia. Empire had enlarged her outlook. Pharaoh was no longer god king of an isolated realm, but must take his place among the rest of the kings of the world. He must recognize his "brother" of Babylon and his "royal cousin" of Mitanni. Foreign blood comes into Egypt, and it is very noteworthy how the facial type of the upper classes changes from the heavy-jawed, short-nosed type of Thothmes I to the delicate aquiline features and pointed chin of Thothmes IV. And with the admission of foreign blood came the admission of foreign ideas, or rather a capacity to understand them.

When Thothmes III died an immediate revolt occurred in the provinces. This was in no sense a criticism of his rule, but rather the inevitable attempt on the part of Orientals to take advantage of any change of government. It was soon quelled, and the succeeding kings, Amenhotep II and Thothmes IV, each increased by a little the territory which they ruled.

But the spirit of conquest, of crusade one might almost say, had gone. The Egyptians were tired of war. Henceforward they were content to keep what they had. Amenhotep

III did not even have to lead the military parade usual for a new king. In the fifth and sixth years of his reign he fought in Nubia, claimed to have made fresh conquests, returned home and devoted the rest of his life to the pleasures of the chase and the court.

Very early in his reign, before the second year, he married Ty, a woman not of the royal family. Now, this in itself was a remarkable thing. Descent in Egypt was reckoned through the mother. The heir to the throne therefore married his sister, and indeed ascended the throne in virtue of that marriage. But Amenhotep III, perhaps in the absence of sisters, takes for his Great Royal Wife Ty, daughter of Yuia and Tuyu, a priestly couple with apparently no royal connection at all. Of course Ty is called Great Heiress, Royal Daughter, Royal Sister, Royal Wife and the rest of it, but the fact remains that a break in tradition had occurred.

This Ty was a remarkable woman. Princes and kings wrote to her asking for her help, and we shall see shortly a part which is inexplicable save for her playing of it. What hold she had over the king we may see in the mere fact of her being made Queen and in

the extraordinary wealth and honour heaped upon her parents, whose unplundered tomb is the richest ever found in Egypt save for that of their grandson Tutankhamen. On proclamations, on commemorative scarabs her name accompanies that of the King, and Egypt was getting a foretaste of the petticoat government that was to follow.

Politically the horizon seemed clear. We have seen that Amenhotep's accession was unaccompanied by the usual revolts in Asia and he was on the best of terms with his neighbours. In the tenth year of his reign he married Gilukhipa, daughter of the king of Mitanni, thus binding even more closely to him that important buffer state. The kings of Assyria, Babylon and the Hittites send friendly letters. Pharaoh was able to devote the energies, which his ancestors had spent on warfare, to hunting lions and wild cattle. But soon the sloth which overtakes the Oriental who is born to the purple overcame him, and after the tenth year of his reign we hear no more of his exploits in the chase, while in his eleventh year an issue of scarabs commemorates the construction of a vast lake for the pleasure of himself and Ty in their Royal Barge "Gleams of the Aten."

Now the Aten was the disk of the sun and was to play a great part in the near future. This Aten was recognized as a mighty god in the time of Amenhotep's father, Thothmes IV, if we may believe a scarab recently published. It was symptomatic of the widening of Egyptian ideas, for from the beginning the Aten was a world god. In very early times the Egyptian gods had been strongly localized; gradually, as Egypt became a unit, two gods rose to power: Ra the god of the sun at Heliopolis and Amen king of the gods at Thebes. The XVIIIth Dynasty being themselves Thebans had put themselves under the especial protection of Amen. He became the god of conquest and empire and a large proportion of the spoils and tribute of Asia found its way into his treasury. His priesthood was the most powerful force in the land. But he remained a purely Egyptian god, and like the earlier kings of the dynasty regarded the Empire merely as a source of wealth. It is not surprising that with the growth of internationalism, symbolized by the entrance of Pharaoh into the council of kings, a god should arise whose appeal was more universal.

At all events Amenhotep seems to have patronized this new god, though in his easy-

going way he continued his official allegiance to Amen, whose worship was by now in the nature of a state religion. The powerful priesthood at Thebes no doubt saw little cause for anxiety. Gods had come and gone. Pharaohs had patronized one and then another as in Christian times kings would patronize some favourite saint without alarming the Church. Amen was fast set. He might be hated and envied by the priesthood of Ra whom he had ousted from power, but no Pharaoh would be so mad as to turn against the bringer of victory. But they had reckoned without the possibility of a fanatic.

We must now consider the relationships of this family. The task is exceedingly difficult, and to quote all the evidence would serve no useful purpose. The results are tabulated at the end of the chapter. The eldest son of Amenhotep III and Ty was named, like his father, Amenhotep, later to become king and to assume the name Akhenaten. We have seen that it was the custom for the Egyptian crown prince to marry his sister, that through her his claim to the throne might be doubly substantiated. Now we know of two wives of the young Amenhotep, Tadukhipa, princess of the Mitanni, and the famous Nefertiti.

Tadukhipa must have died shortly after her marriage, for she is never mentioned again. Nefertiti became his queen. We know, however, that there were other royal princesses, his sisters, whom he could have married (Sitamen, for example, marries her own father a little later), and taking into consideration the extraordinary family likeness visible in Nefertiti's face, it seems best to suppose that she was daughter to Amenhotep III and Ty and that it was in her right that the young Amenhotep claimed the throne.

Two other characters need attention though they do not appear on the scene for some years. The first is Smenkhkara, who is made joint king with the younger Amenhotep at the very end of the latter's reign. He is a most mysterious figure. There is every reason to suppose that it is his skeleton, found in the *cache* of Queen Ty at Thebes, which has so long passed for that of Akhenaten. It is the body of a young man of about twenty-four, and certain peculiarities in the skull show a remarkable resemblance to those in the skull of Tutankhamen. Furthermore, such portraits as have been assigned to him display a great likeness not only to Tutankhamen but also to Nefertiti. We may therefore place him as brother to

these two. The second figure is Tutankhamen, now made famous by the fabulous wealth of his tomb. Here we are on rather firmer ground, for not only does he call Amenhotep III his father, but he had a golden statuette of that king in his tomb and—more important still—a lock of Queen Ty's hair. Furthermore, he bears a strong facial resemblance to Amenhotep III when the latter was a young man, and displays the same love of hunting and horsemanship. The one objection to making him the son of Amenhotep III and Queen Ty has been the question of dates, for Tutankhamen was only eighteen when he died after a reign of nine years, and the reigns of his predecessors amount to seventeen or eighteen. But we shall see that this difficulty can be overcome.

It was the custom in Egypt that when the crown prince had reached years of discretion he should be co-opted on to the throne with his father. Probably at the same time he was married to his sister to ensure his rights. In this way the waning powers of kingship were revived and the authority was carried on with no break in continuity. For when the succession runs in the female line it is essential to avoid intrigue and civil war and to have a

clear knowledge of who should become Pharaoh. The co-regent meanwhile dated the events of his reign from his co-option. Thus "regnal year one" of the son may be the same as "regnal year twenty-five" of the father. Unfortunately, in the present case we are not certain of the exact length of the co-regency of the two Amenhoteps, but we have an indication. In the ninth year of the new king's reign an alteration was made in the titulary of the god Aten. A number of objects have come to light bearing this later name of the god in conjunction with the name of Amenhotep III, and in one case in conjunction with his portrait as an old man. This points to a co-regency of at least eight years. Perhaps we can be even more accurate. There was a jubilee of the god Aten in the fifth year of Amenhotep IV's (Akhenaten's) reign. Now a jubilee was strictly a thirty-year festival, at all events it is seldom celebrated before, and it may here point to a reckoning either from the beginning of Amenhotep III's reign, as it was he who had first patronized the new god, or from the birth of the young Amenhotep who was the Aten's chief supporter, say a difference of two years. Taking then the fifth year of Amenhotep IV to be either the thirtieth

year of his father's reign or of his own life, we find that the beginning of the co-regency can be dated to the twenty-fifth or twenty-seventh year of Amenhotep III, *i.e.* 1386 or 1384 B.C. Amenhotep III reigned thirty-six years, dying in 1375 B.C., and we thus obtain a co-regency of nine or eleven years. Again, in the tomb of Huya (below, p. 47), Queen Ty is shown making a special visit to Amarna in the twelfth year of the reign of Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV). She appears alone, but in a part of the tomb which had been finished a little earlier she is shown in a formal scene with her husband, Amenhotep III, as though the latter were still alive. It appears possible, therefore, that this visit was a formal one on the occasion of the death of the old king, and that again gives us a co-regency of about eleven years.

Now Akhenaten reigned seventeen years, that is to say, eleven years with his father and six alone, and Tutankhamen probably succeeded immediately on his death, Smenkhkara dying about the same time. Tutankhamen was about nine when he came to the throne and was therefore about two or three at the time of Amenhotep III's death. Thus the dates are no bar to his being the son of that king.

The digression has been long and compli-

cated. (A reference to the table at the end of the chapter may simplify matters.) But it will have been of use if it has drawn attention to the astonishing complexity of the subject and to the problems which still await definite solution. At all events the two Amenhoteps reigned together for some time. But the father was getting old, not in years but in body. We see him on a small stele, sitting tired and dejected, overburdened by the weight of his gorgeous regalia. He was suffering from terrible abscesses in the teeth and may well have let the reins of government rest in the hands of his son.

At that time Egypt had crying need for a strong man. There had already been a number of frontier incidents in North Syria. The Hittites, who were by now a more powerful state than was generally realized, had invaded Mitanni. They had indeed been beaten back, but it was a warning. At the same time they had conspired to cause trouble in Naharin, with the result that troops had to be sent to put things to rights. Amenhotep III was too lazy to go in person; it would have made all the difference in a land where the memory of the terrible names of Thothmes III and Amenhotep II was growing dim. Besides

this, the practice had grown up of giving vast quantities of gold to the neighbouring states. "Gold is as dust in my brother's land," says one letter. No doubt these presents kept their receivers friendly and peaceful. But it was the worst kind of Danegeld.

Serious trouble was brewing, and if the Empire was to be saved and Egyptian prestige upheld, the young co-regent must be prepared to undertake a series of campaigns in the style of Thothmes III. It seems obvious to us now that a display of force would have saved untold misery. Palestine and Syria had for many years known such peace as they were not to know again until Roman days. With a strong Pharaoh the history of the world would have been different.

Amenhotep IV, however, was the very last person to cope with the situation. The last campaign in which Egyptian troops had taken part was that of his father in Nubia when he himself was only three or four years old. He had been brought up in a world in which war had been forgotten. The soldiers who had overrun Asia were dead or fantastic survivals from a barbarous past. His training—if he had any—was entirely civilian. We may perhaps see in the prominence of his mother

the beginning of that prominence of the feminine and effeminate, which seems to be the clue to so much at Amarna, both in politics and art. He himself was certainly abnormal. There is no doubt that in the "monstrous regiment of women," under which he had been brought up, together with the undoubted feminine characteristics of his body, we can find the clue to much of his later policy.

His main preoccupation was with religion. He and Nefertiti became devotees of the Aten. To-day we should call them religious maniacs. As we have seen, Amenhotep III and Ty had patronized the Aten, but not by any means at the expense of Amen. But to the new king the Aten was the one sole god through whom all life comes. The other gods were devils and were to be proscribed. Here indeed was a revolution. The Egyptians were naturally a tolerant race and nothing in the nature of religious persecution had ever been known. Now, goaded perhaps by the sight of the wealth and luxury of the priests of Amen, encouraged perhaps by the priests of Ra of Heliopolis who felt that a new form of their sun-god was a means of recovering the position from which they had been ousted by Amen, the King determined to make a complete break.

His own name contained the hated name of Amen. It must go. He changed it to Akhenaten—"It is well with the Aten." Thebes, the capital, was traditionally the centre of the worship of Amen. The capital must be changed from that unworthy spot. A clean place must be found, dedicated to no god or goddess.

A preliminary tour of inspection, perhaps in the fourth year of his reign, led him to the modern Tell el-Amarna, about 200 miles north of Thebes. Here he carved great tablets in the surrounding hills to mark the boundaries of the proposed city, the building of which was carried on during the next year or so. "I will make a House of Aten for the Aten my father in Akhetaten in this place, I will make a mansion of the Aten, I will make a Shade of Ra of the Great Royal Wife Nefertiti for the Aten my father, I will make a House of Re-joicing for the Aten my father in the island of Aten Distinguished in Jubilees. I will make the Palace of Pharaoh (Life! Prosperity! Health!). I will make a Palace of the Queen in Akhetaten in this place. There shall be made for me a sepulchre in the Eastern mountain, my burial shall be made therein in the multitude of jubilees which the Aten my

father has ordained for me, and the burial of the Great Royal Wife Nefertiti shall be therein in that multitude of years and the burial of the king's daughter Meritaten shall be therein. The sepulchre of Mnevis shall be made in the Eastern mountain. The tombs of the 'Chiefs of the Seers' (chief priests of Ra at Heliopolis), the 'Divine Fathers' of the Aten and the priests of the Aten shall be made in the Eastern mountain of Akhetaten and they shall be buried therein."

The frantic haste attending the "running up" of this mushroom city is everywhere in evidence. Instead of finely-cut masonry, rubble was used with a thin stone facing. Mud brick was whitewashed to look like limestone. The number of skilled craftsmen was not sufficient and practically untrained men were set to carve the inscriptions, as we can see from the rough hieroglyphs in plaster which had to be used as models for every letter by the illiterate workmen.

Again in the sixth year of his reign he visited the spot. Akhetaten he called it, the Horizon of the Disk; and from here he never moved again. One interpretation indeed of a phrase from the proclamation makes him swear that he will never leave the city. It is possible,

however, that the words mean that he will keep the city within the limits he has imposed and not allow it to spread beyond.

Here then Akhenaten lived in his little Utopia for the remaining eleven years of his life. With him was his wife, Nefertiti, as great a devotee as himself, and those of the nobles and priests who had thrown in their lot with him, whether for gain or for conscience' sake. Here was Ay, "Divine Father," an especial friend of the Royal Family, Meryra the High-priest, Panehsy Chief Steward of the god, Nakht the fat old Vizier, Ranefer Master of the Horse, Mahu Chief of Police, and others whose duties we know from their tombs or from the inscribed door-frames of their houses.

In the beautiful gardens of the Palace or on the Royal *dahabiya* he whiled away his time with Nefertiti and the six princesses whom she bore. Sometimes they drive out to inspect the bounds of the city or to worship at the Great Temple, and the populace bow as the chariots whirl past with a flutter of pennons. "Life! Prosperity! Health!" is the cry. A scarcely concealed laugh goes up as the Vizier, whose duty it is to run by the Royal Chariot, totters by, panting, half supported, half pushed along by two stalwart servants. Sometimes too the

Royal Party may have caused some amusement. In the pictures in the tombs we see the airy grace with which the King controls the fiery horses with one hand while he embraces his wife with the other. Between them the mischievous little princess Meritaten pokes the horses with a stick to make them prance. That is the official version. But artists are notoriously scurrilous too, and in one house we found a child's toy which looks suspiciously like a caricature of such a scene. It shows a model chariot drawn by monkeys. In the chariot is another monkey urging along his steeds (his receding forehead is terribly like the King's), by him a monkey princess prods the rumps of the horse-monkeys which are jibbing and refusing to budge an inch in spite of a monkey groom who is dragging at their bridles for dear life.

Never before has an Egyptian Pharaoh descended to human level in this way. Amen-hotep III had done so to a certain extent with his issues of scarabs commemorating his prowess in the chase. But this uxoriousness, this parade of the Royal Family's private life, must have seemed to the old school quite indecent. The Good God had become mere man with a vengeance. Why! Ay seems to

be allowed into the Palace when none of the Royal Family has any clothes on! Kissing in public too! Getting sculptors to carve statuettes showing Pharaoh kissing a member of the family who is sitting on his knee!

But things were happening outside this Paradise. In the twelfth year of the reign Queen Ty comes to Amarna. Perhaps we can see in this a state visit after the death of old Amenhotep III. At all events she is treated with great honour. A "Shade of Ra" is built for her and she is shown feasting with the Royal Family. With her comes a breath of air from the outside world. Ty was an able woman. Kings wrote to her on important matters. She knew well what was happening in the Empire. She realized fully the mentality of the local dynasts of Syria, who were able to act openly in a way which would have meant an Egyptian army about their ears in the old days. She knew well that once they saw that they would only receive a polite note instead of kicks they would begin to act according to their own sweet will. Accordingly, she seems to have stirred Akhenaten to a certain display of energy. It did not go as far as actually visiting the provinces in person, but a sort of Pageant of Empire was

staged in a building erected for the purpose, half in and half out of the Great Temple precincts. To this Hall of Foreign Tribute, which has recently been excavated, Akhenaten and Nefertiti were carried in their state palanquin to receive the tribute of the subject races. How much of it was true and how much merely staged we cannot tell. Things were already in a bad way in the Empire, and it is quite possible that most of the "tribute" had to be hastily manufactured on the spot or drawn from the treasuries for use a second time. To this year we can probably date the one exasperated letter which Akhenaten sent to his treacherous vassal Aziru the Amorite, weakly blustering that he will come and kill him if he does not behave.

From the famous Tell el-Amarna tablets, found in the "Place of the Correspondence of Pharaoh"—the Records Office, in fact—we have the whole story. These letters, written in cuneiform in the diplomatic Babylonian of the period, consist mainly of those sent by the vassal kings of Asia to Akhenaten or his father Amenhotep III. A few, however, are the duplicate copies of the replies or orders sent from Egypt, filed for reference purposes.

They give an extraordinarily vivid picture of the lapse of the Egyptian Empire into anarchy. They are very reminiscent of the letters which excavators receive to-day from the servants and guards they leave in Egypt. Each side to a quarrel accuses the other of all possible crimes and many fantastic ones. The truth is impossible to find, for once one party is proved a liar he will write and say that all the letters from him were forgeries written by his enemy to get him into trouble! The only thing to do is to act rapidly and irrevocably on one's own judgment, from which there is no appeal. And that is just what Akhenaten was incapable of doing. We must remember, however, that the King probably only saw those letters and heard that point of view with which his ministers were pleased to present him. It is a noteworthy fact that many of the letters which were written by Aziru, whom nowadays we consider the villain of the piece, were addressed to one Dudu, who has been identified as Tutu, "Chamberlain and Mouth-piece of the entire land." Akhenaten may well have received a very censored and edited version of the whole correspondence.

Early in Akhenaten's reign Egypt had been unfortunate in losing one of her most faithful



General Map of Egypt and Syria in the reigns of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten.

allies. Tushratta king of Mitanni, the buffer state which for centuries had been semi-

dependent on Egypt, was killed in a palace intrigue and his son Mattiuaza invoked the help of the Hittites in the civil war which followed. There was only one thing which could happen when the Hittites were called in. Mitanni, in fact if not in name, was swallowed up in the Hittite Empire. The chance had come for which Shubbiluliuma, the wise old king of the Hittites, had waited. He picked his men with care. Abdashirta, king of the Amorites, and his son Aziru, seemed ripe for treason to their Egyptian overlord. They were sounded and proved useful cat's-paws. Later, of course, they could be dealt with. At the moment they were encouraged.

With their co-operation the Hittites march into the plain of Amki north of the Orontes near Antioch, and Aziru proceeds to capture the coast towns of Syria and Phœnicia, slaying their kings and plundering their people. Three loyal kings, vassals of Egypt, were disastrously defeated in an independent attempt to recapture the lost provinces. Simyra and Byblos, however, still held out, but the important city of Tunip, whose capture had been one of the great feats of arms of Thothmes III, was in such danger that her elders wrote to Pharaoh asking for protection.

The king of Byblos was Ribaddi, a man who stands out in the history of the period as one of the most loyal and lovable characters of whom we know. He wrote the most urgent appeals to Pharaoh for help to drive Aziru from Simyra; for if Simyra fell, Byblos was doomed.

But no help came and Simyra fell. The Egyptian resident was killed and Aziru was free to march on Byblos. Again Ribaddi wrote, but Aziru explained to Pharaoh through his friends at court that he could not come to Egypt and give an account of himself because the Hittites are in Nukhashshi and he fears that Tunip (!) will not be strong enough to resist them. To the command that he rebuild Simyra which he says he destroyed in order to prevent its falling into the hands of the Hittites, he replies that he is too busy fighting the king's enemies to do so immediately but he will rebuild it within a year.

Khani, a messenger of Pharaoh's, Aziru managed to evade so that the letter was taken back unopened. Aziru immediately wrote to Akhenaten saying how much he regretted that his work in the north, resisting the Hittite invasion, had deprived him of the pleasure of meeting Pharaoh's envoy, though he had hurried home as soon as he heard of his arrival.

So cleverly did Aziru and the other rebellious dynasts evade and confuse the issue that even the Egyptian resident deputies did not seem able to distinguish friend from foe.

Meanwhile Ribaddi's letters became more and more desperate. First of all he begs for only three hundred men to help him recapture the lost cities. Then he tries an appeal to the King's self-respect. "All the royal lands as far as Egypt will join the Hittites. Wherefore hast thou held back and let thy lands be taken? Let it not be said, 'In the days of His Majesty the vile foreigners took all the lands,' and let it not be said in the days to come, 'and thou canst not retake them.' I could have made alliance with Aziru and saved myself alive. If help does not come Byblos will fall, and I and all that love thee will be lost. Once at the sight of an Egyptian the kings of Canaan fled from before him. Who in the days of Manakhbiriya (Menkheperra Thothmes III) could have taken Tunip? But now the sons of Amor despise the people of Egypt and threaten me, Pharaoh's servant, with their bloody weapons."

But no help came, and at last in Byblos itself an anti-Egyptian faction headed by Ribaddi's own brother came crying, "How long can

we withstand the arms of Aziru? How long wilt thou continue to kill us?" And they drove the old king out. He writes in his exile, "and when I am dead, and my sons, servants of the King do live and they write to the King, 'Give us back our city,' what will my Lord the King say?"

We hear that he fell into the hands of Aziru. We do not have to guess his fate.

It was the same story in the south of Palestine. The wandering Khabiru—perhaps the Hebrews—are stirring up revolt and plundering the royal cities. Abdikhiba, the faithful governor of Jerusalem, sent urgent letters. In one he adds a frantic postscript to a friend of his at court. "To the scribe of my lord the King. Abdikhiba thy servant. Bring these words plainly before my Lord the King. 'The whole land of my Lord the King is going to ruin.' " Did this ever reach Akhenaten? or was it first edited by Tutu? At all events Akhenaten's attitude was one of querulous complaint at those who were always talking of the hostility of their neighbours. They protested too much.

The work of centuries was undone. The lives of countless men had been sacrificed in vain to give peace to Syria. The Egyptian Empire was in anarchy.

At Amarna, too, there was trouble. The last years of Akhenaten are obscure and the theory put forward here is tentative and may easily have to be discarded. But at the moment it seems to fit the facts.

About the sixteenth year of the King's reign someone—perhaps the old Queen Ty—forced him to face realities. Anarchy in Syria meant discontent in Egypt, discontent fostered no doubt by the priests of Amen at Thebes who had been ruined by the cessation of tribute and the proscription of their god. But though Akhenaten may have been convinced of the necessity for action, Nefertiti was not. She had been one of the prime instigators of the new movement and it may well have been her influence which was at the back of the womanish policy which had lost the Empire. Be that as it may, there was a terrible family quarrel ending in the disgrace of Nefertiti. The eldest princess Meritaten had been married to her young uncle Smenkhkara. They were co-opted on to the throne and sent immediately to Thebes to try to bring about a reconciliation with the priests of Amen.

But Nefertiti too had powerful supporters at Amarna. She retired to the north end of

the city, where she built herself a palace called Hat-Aten—the Castle of the Aten. This had the same name as the Royal Estate in the centre of the city, and it almost sounds like a defiant statement that here at least was the last refuge of the true god. With her may have gone her other brother, Tutankhaten, a boy of seven married to the second surviving princess Ankhesenpaaten, for objects bearing their names are frequently found in this part of the city and in conjunction with those bearing the name of Nefertiti.

Then, within two years, Akhenaten died and was buried in the great tomb in that lonely valley of the Eastern desert, where the princess Maketaten was already laid. Whether Smenkhkara predeceased him or not it is hard to say. But at Amarna Tutankhaten was proclaimed king.

It has always been somewhat of a mystery that a boy of nine or ten should have remained at Amarna and been able to withstand the pressure of all Egypt for an immediate return to Thebes. But while Nefertiti lived there was no backsliding. Her influence kept him faithful to the new religion and to the home of the new religion. Her death must have occurred about the third year of his reign, and with the passing of the last champion of the Aten

the young king yielded. He changed his name to Tutankhamen and returned to Thebes, where he was welcomed with great rejoicings and later buried with fabulous splendour. But times were changing. None knew whether the next turn of the wheel would see Amarna again the capital. The court had returned to Thebes with the King, but it would be folly for the nobles to pull down their fine houses at Amarna while they were still uncertain that they had seen the last of them. They wisely, therefore, blocked up the doors and left guards. There seems even to have been some uncertainty in official quarters, for several public buildings were similarly sealed and the diplomatic correspondence was left behind. With the death of Tutankhamen, however, or perhaps that of his successor Ay, and with the accession of General Horemheb it became evident that no return to Amarna would ever take place. So the wealthy sent orders to dismantle their houses. Now wood suitable for columns is very rare and valuable in Egypt. No traces of a wooden column has ever been found at Amarna, though the stone bases are there, and it looks as if the columns had been removed and perhaps floated up to Thebes. But there

must have been a large proportion of the population which could not afford to travel. They saw their chance of living in better quarters and—no doubt for a consideration—they got permission from the guards to replace the columns with brick piers or partition walls so as to support the roof and keep the house in a habitable condition. Nearly every large house has these “squatters walls,” as we call them—a relic of the dwindling population that was gradually absorbed by the surrounding villages and towns. For the City of the Horizon was to have no successor save for a Roman fort or two.

Tutankhamen had been closely connected with the heresy, so had Ay, but when Horemheb came to the throne the pent-up hatred of Akhenaten and all that he stood for broke out.

Bodies of workmen were sent to the city. The Great Temple was utterly razed to the ground. Every stone was taken and a thick layer of cement was run over the top to seal in as it were the infection of the accursed spot. The tombs of the nobles were mutilated and the face and name of Akhenaten were savagely hacked out. As for him, Professor Sayce records in his “Memoirs” that he saw, during the excavation of the Royal Tomb,

the body of a man which had been burnt some time after mummification. Unfortunately the official report of the excavations gives no details, but there is the possibility that he saw the wrecked body of the most hated man in the history of Egypt, Akhenaten, the Beautiful Child of the Sun, "That Criminal of Akhetaten."

SUGGESTED CHRONOLOGY

B.C.

1411. AMENHOTEP III ascends the throne.

1410. AMENHOTEP III marries Ty, daughter of Yuia and Tuyu.

c. 1409. AMENHOTEP IV (AKHENATEN) born.

c. 1400. NEFERTITI born. (Destruction of Knossos and the Minoan Empire: see Chapter V.)

1393. SMENKHKARA born.

1386. AMENHOTEP IV becomes co-regent. Marries NEFERTITI his sister.

1381. AMENHOTEP IV changes his name to AKHENATEN and removes the capital from Thebes to Amarna.

1378. TUTANKHATEN born.

1375. AMENHOTEP III dies.

1374. Ty visits Amarna. Pageant of foreign tribute held.

1370. Family quarrel. NEFERTITI falls from power and retires to the North City. SMENKHKARA, who has married his niece MERITATEN, becomes co-regent. He is sent up to Thebes to bring about a reconciliation.

1369. AKHENATEN dies at Amarna.

SMENKHKARA dies at Thebes.

TUTANKHATEN, who has married his niece ANKHESENPAATEN, succeeds to throne at Amarna.

1367. NEFERTITI dies.

TUTANKHATEN and his wife change their names to TUTANKHAMEN and ANKHESENAMEN respectively and return to Thebes with the court.

1360. TUTANKHAMEN dies and is buried at Thebes.

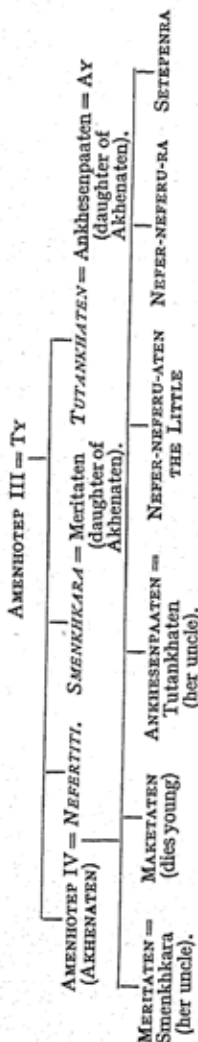
"Divine Father" Ay marries ANKHESENAMEN and ascends the throne.

1356. Ay dies.

HOREMHEB succeeds to the throne on his own merits.

Hatred against AKHENATEN and the ATEN breaks out.

SUGGESTED GENEALOGY



Note.—The names in *italics* are those of individuals whose parentage is somewhat doubtful. Arguments for the present arrangement are given in the text, but the following alternatives may be noted.

1. Nefertiti has been identified by some with Tadukhipa, the Mitannian princess. The main argument in favour of this is the translation of her name, "A Beautiful Woman Comes," which might imply that she was a foreigner. Arguments from an alleged foreign type of features cannot be taken seriously.
2. Nefertiti has also been called the daughter of "Divine Father" Ay, since the title "Divine Father" or "Father of the God" is sometimes given to those who while not royal themselves are the fathers of those achieving royalty. The familiar terms on which Ay appears with the Royal Family is an argument in favour of this theory. But I think the above arrangement is more satisfactory.
3. Tutankhaten has been said to be the son of Akhenaten by another wife. But we do not know of any wife besides Nefertiti, and had he been a son of the King he would surely have been shown in the immediate family circle. On the other hand, the lock of Ty's hair in his tomb is most significant and we have seen that his youth is no bar to his having been the son of Amenhotep III, which is what he calls himself.
4. It is to be hoped that the final scientific publication of the contents of Tutankhamen's tomb, discovered twelve years ago, is not further delayed. Much of the material when available for general discussion will be of the utmost value. For instance, a glance at the objects as they are now exhibited in Cairo makes it obvious that many of them were not intended for Tutankhamen at all originally, but that his cartouche is superimposed on or substituted for someone else's.

II

THE SITE

THE site chosen by Akhenaten for his new capital lies about halfway between Cairo and Luxor on the East bank of the Nile. Here the cliffs of the high desert recede from the river, leaving a great semicircle about eight miles long and three broad. At intervals in the cliffs great clefts make their appearance. These are dry torrent beds or *wadys* cut by the force of the water which drains off from the downpours of rain which occur periodically between the Nile and the Red Sea. Along these *wadys* run old forgotten tracks leading to the ports and trading stations to the east. On the summit of the cliffs can still be made out the routes of the patrols which run along the level rim, stopping short at the *wadys* across which they could challenge each other. Such a system must have been very necessary, since the high desert then, as now, was the refuge of outlaws, and the parties of *Mazoi* or police setting out on a man-hunt in the hills must



General Plan of the Site of Tell el-Amarna.

have been as frequent a sight at that time as is that of the Sudanese camel-police to-day engaged in the same work.

In the face of the cliffs themselves were carved huge boundary stelæ setting the limits of the city and telling the story of its foundation. There are two sets of these. The first were carved soon after the fourth year of Akhenaten's reign when he originally decided upon the spot for his new capital. The later ones date from the sixth year when the city, or part of it, was an accomplished fact, and on the latter a reiteration of his vows was made in the eighth year.

More stelæ occur on the West bank, enclosing a vast area of fertile ground. Here we may see the land allotted for the fields and estates belonging to the city—for certainly the city proper did not extend to the other side of the river. Naturally Akhenaten wished his city to be self-supporting. There must always have been in the back of his mind the possibility of trouble in the rest of Egypt and of his city's being isolated. Both the pictures in the tombs, which depict a river front, and the excavations which show that many of the ancient remains lie below the narrow strip of modern cultivation, seem to indicate that in those days the cultivation on the East bank did not exist and that the houses ran right down to the river. Probably then the West bank was devoted to the supply of the immediate needs of the city

and supported a few villages of farm labourers and the bailiffs and servants of the great nobles.

On the East bank the city straggled north and south in a haphazard way along the river. (See Plate I.)

The main thoroughfares run parallel to the Nile. The Chief of them, called even to this day the *Sikket es-Sultan*, the King's Way, serves all the most important buildings in the city. It may even have been in existence as a regular road before the city was built. At the South end lies Maru-Aten, a pleasure palace of the King, with a lake and pavilions with gaily painted pavements. The road runs north through the main city and passes between the Palace and the Royal House. Here it is spanned by a bridge with three openings. Above this must have been the Window of Appearance at which Pharaoh would display himself in splendour and throw down the gold of his favour to his faithful followers. Further north it serves the Great Temple. Then it becomes one of the main streets of the modern village of Et-Till, and beyond that can be traced at intervals in the modern cultivation. It emerges again for a few hundred yards by the North Palace, re-enters the cultivation and finally comes out between the great wall which

fronts the Queen's Palace and the large mansions of the North City. Another important road is High Priest Street, some way further East, from which the estates of many great nobles and officials were entered. This is continued as West Road in the North Suburb. Further East still lies East Road. These roads are connected by others at right angles to them. But there seems to be little town-planning as we know it, except in the Official Quarters of the city. Estates, roughly rectangular in shape, were allotted when the city was founded. The wealthier classes took care to take up those which lined the main roads, leaving the inner space for the less rich. Sometimes a claimholder was unable to take up his allotment and sublet it, so that we find a group of small houses all enclosed within the boundaries of what was originally intended to be one large estate. At the North end of the North Suburb, which was the direction in which the city was expanding at the end of the period, we find that in many cases the boundary trenches have been dug, sometimes the estate walls have been built but the owner had not had time to build his house before the city was deserted. In one case, however, the owner had completed his house even to the interior decoration. All that

remained was to hoist into position over his front door the stone lintel which would give his name and titles. The lintel had been hauled up to the steps when the order came to leave the city, and there it was found—roughly blocked out.

As we have said, there seems to be little town-planning except in the Official Quarters. These cover roughly a square kilometre and are situated in the centre of the bay. To the North lay the Great Temple of the Sun's Disk which was to be the crowning achievement of the whole city, with its annexes, the Hall of Foreign Tribute, the house of Paneḥsy the Chief Servitor of the god, its priests' houses and magazines. To the South lie the Royal Magazines for tribute and the storing of the taxes. Next comes the Royal Estate with its Private Temple. East of this lies the Foreign Office with its Records Magazine—the "Place of the Correspondence of Pharaoh" as the bricks are inscribed. Next door is the University or "House of Life," where the young scribes learnt calligraphy and the art of administration. To the South are rows of clerks' houses all built on a single plan and sharing walls with their neighbours. To the East lie more magazines and finally the barracks

of the police with the commandant's house, the dormitories and armouries, and the great parade ground with a deep well in the middle, long cobbled stables with mangers and tethering stones to the East and stations for a "flying squad," in the square itself, to be perpetually in readiness.

This central part of the city was particularly well laid out. The various blocks are self-contained and are divided up by streets as straight as an Egyptian could be expected to make them. The Royal Estate and the Palace together with the Great Temple front on to the main road. The official house of Panehsy has easy access both to the Temple and to his own private house to the South; a track which must have been made by his passage from one to the other is still visible on the surface of the desert at evening. The barracks are on the edge of the desert so that a clear view could be obtained of any suspicious movement towards the hills and, even more important, there was a clear run for the chariots on the level desert to a point opposite any scene of disturbance in the city before having to traverse narrow streets.

That part of the city which lies to the South of the Official Quarters was probably the first

to be built. Here are the great mansions of the most important nobles—Nakht the Vizier, Pa-wah a High priest, General Ramose, Panehsy's private house, that of Ranefer Master of Horse, and many other estates yet unexcavated. Here too was a sculptors' quarter, just north of the broad *wady* which divides this part of the city in two. It was in this area that the master-sculptor Thothmes lived, in whose house were found the numerous works of art now mostly in the Museum at Berlin. Just South of the Palace lies the centre of the glass-making industry.

When the city grew and the population increased it naturally expanded towards the North, occupying an area beyond the *wady* north of the Great Temple but still within easy reach of the centre of the city. To this area the name of the North Suburb has been given. That it is a later expansion is proved not only by the comparatively high proportion of objects bearing the names of Akhenaten's immediate successors, but also by the fact that, as we have seen, it was still spreading northwards when the city was deserted.

There are few houses here of any great size. They seem for the most part to belong to the

middle class, merchants and petty officials. It is only the house of Hatiay, in the *wady* which cuts the suburb in two, that has any pretensions, and he, being Overseer of Works, had every opportunity of making himself comfortable. Graft is not a new feature in the East.

The most important part of this suburb, however, lay on the South side of the *wady*. Here was the quarter of the corn merchants, with rows of corn-bins and steps leading down to a lower level. It is conceivable that a canal was actually cut as far as this from the river. Nearly opposite to it in the modern village a great artificial cutting runs up some way from the bank, and it would certainly have been a great convenience to be able to bring your corn by barge to your very door.

In the North Suburb we can see very well the course of events; how the richer classes lined the roads with their estates, using the space behind them as a common dump for rubbish and for refuse pits. Next came others, not quite so rich, who built a second ring of medium-sized houses, filling in the rubbish pits and sometimes even disinfecting them by burning. Finally come the slums, a mere tangle of hovels sharing common courtyards,

their thin walls often to be found fallen into the earlier pits which they had not taken care to fill up properly.

If we continue northwards we come to the North Palace. This was built apparently as a kind of Zoological Gardens. It has finely carved mangers, fish-ponds and aviaries. From other rooms come beautiful wall-paintings, in the new style, representing bird life in the marshes.

Finally, as the cliffs approach the river again we come to the North City. The most noticeable feature here is a great double wall with a gate in it, over which was a room with brightly painted walls. Here perhaps was another Window of Appearance at which Pharaoh would show himself.

Local tradition has attributed to this wall a version of the story (nearly contemporary with the city) of the Doomed Prince of whom it was prophesied that he should be killed by a crocodile, a snake or a dog. This wall, says the modern story-teller, was built by the King his father to protect him and to keep out his fate. Since we excavated it, however, the names have been added. The prince has become Tutankhamen and his father King Till—presumably the eponymous hero of the

modern village of Et-Till. So are folk-stories made.

Behind this wall lies a palace, built up against it at a slightly later date. Only a little of it remains, but enough objects were found to suggest that it belonged to Nefertiti and, since the paintings from the gateway in the wall show that the wall can be assigned to a date after the Queen's fall from power, it is a reasonable assumption that it was to this palace that she retired. The houses near by are notable for their great size and for the lack of accommodation for a family. This, together with the great numbers of granaries and store-yards in the estates, implies that they were the official houses of nobles who would have private residences elsewhere. Many of the houses, as yet unexcavated, run some way up the slope of the cliffs, and at the extreme North end is a big terraced building which may have been a Customs House, at which goods arriving up-stream would have to be unloaded. Traces of what may be a similar building are visible in a corresponding position at the South end of the plain.

So much for the inhabited part of the city.

Now comes what was as important for the

Egyptian as his dwelling-house—his tomb or “House of Eternity.”

To those nobles who had followed him to his new city Akhenaten presented tombs. These are situated in the face of the surrounding cliffs in two groups, the northernmost of which is by a little the later. No traces of burial or even of sarcophagi have been found in any of them, and we must either assume that none of the nobles died during the fifteen years the city was inhabited, a most unlikely thing, or else that the bodies and all the funeral paraphernalia were piously removed to Thebes when the court left. Many of the tombs are still unfinished, whole walls being left blank or with the proposed scenes merely sketched-in in ink and awaiting the sculptor. The completed scenes are in low relief and the details have been emphasized with colour. In plan they are of essentially the same type as the rest of the XVIIIth Dynasty tombs at Thebes. There is a forecourt from which a door leads into a large Hall the roof of which is sometimes supported by “papyrus columns” left in the solid rock. The other feature is a chamber containing a statue of the owner of the tomb reached either directly from the Hall or via a corridor and ante-room. The grave shaft varies in position but

is most frequently in the front Hall. All the tombs have been sadly defaced, first by the destroyers who came to remove all trace of the hated heretic, next by casual robbers and dealers who have cut out large pieces for the benefit of European and American Museums, and lastly by local inhabitants who either wish to do an injury to the guards in charge or act out of pure wantonness.

The interest of the tombs lies in the series of vivid pictures they give us of life in the new city, and particularly in the representations of public buildings and ceremonies which they show. Carelessly and hastily carved as many of them are, the new spirit of realism is strikingly evident. The incidental groups of spectators are so alive, the princesses turn to one another with their bouquets so naturally. Almost more important, however, are the religious texts from which we can read the hymns to the sun written by Akhenaten and giving the theology and philosophy of the new religion.

The northernmost tomb (No. 1) is that of Huya, Superintendent of the Royal Harem and Chamberlain to Ty. The most important scenes in this tomb represent the visit of Queen Ty in the twelfth year of Akhenaten's reign. She is shown at a feast given in her honour by

the Royal Family, who all show themselves good trencher-men. In one scene Nefertiti is devouring a whole chicken, Akhenaten is gnawing at a large bone wrapped round with strips of meat. What Ty is eating has been lost, but with her free hand she offers some titbit to her youngest daughter Baketaten. In another scene they are discussing a goblet of wine that is about pint size and the King leans back slightly as it goes down. The princesses are allowed down for dessert but are apparently rather young for wine. To the pictures showing the foreign tribute and the leading of Ty into her Shade of Ra we have already referred. There follow the usual scenes of Pharaoh at his Window of Appearance, showering down gifts of gold, collars and bracelets upon Huya. In one of these there is a delightful little sketch of the sculptor's studio, where the artist himself, Auta, is seen putting the finishing touches to a statue of Ty's daughter Baketaten, while his admiring apprentices and students are represented as saying, "Why, she's alive!" In the chamber containing Huya's statue are the only scenes of a funeral to be found at Amarna. The ritual seems to be the normal one, and either Akhenaten made no attempt to change the familiar custom, which was much more

deeply rooted than the worship of any god, or else Huya being a servant of Queen Ty was less affected by the new religion than others.

The next tomb (No. 2), that of Meryra, another Superintendent of the Royal Harem, also contains a picture of the reception of foreign tribute, but is chiefly remarkable for a scene in which Meryra is rewarded by Smenkhkara and Meritaten. This scene is merely sketched-in in ink and must have been drawn at the beginning of the co-regency.

Tomb 3 is that of Aahmes, Fan-bearer on the right hand of the King. In this we see the King and Queen driving between the Palace and the Temple in their chariot. The Queen looks up and kisses the King, while a little princess is more interested in the horses.

Meryra, whose tomb is No. 4, was High priest of the Aten. Here are two representations of the Temple which have been of the utmost service in helping us to reconstruct the actual remains. The Royal Palace and Magazines are also shown. Most noteworthy of the scenes is that of the blind musicians, to the accompaniment of whose singing and harping the Royal Family enters the Temple. In the usual scene of the rewarding of the tomb's owner a delightful touch is added by the

“chairing” of Meryra on the shoulders of his household.

Pentu, owner of Tomb 5, was Chief Physician to Pharaoh, but except for another picture of the Great Temple there is little of interest here. Of Paneḥsy (Tomb 6) we have already the private house and his official residence by the Temple. He is Chief Servitor of the Aten, Superintendent of the Granary and of the Cattle of the Aten, and Chancellor of Northern Egypt. In his tomb are scenes of the Royal Progress to the Temple with spirited pictures of the King and Queen and the princesses in their chariots with escorts of soldiers. Paneḥsy's is the last of the Northern group of tombs.

The Southern, in the main earlier, group lies over three miles to the South on a low spur after the entrance to the Royal *wady* is passed.

Tomb 7, that of Parennefer, Craftsman of the King, He who washes the hands of His Majesty, is a small tomb chiefly remarkable for the very lively scene in which he is decorated by the King. The bustle and excitement inseparable from an Oriental ceremony is excellently suggested.

Tutu (No. 8), whose tomb comes next, we have already met as the friend at court to whom the treacherous Aziru addressed his

letters. His tomb has a particularly magnificent hall with no less than twelve columns arranged in two rows. The chamberlain is shown being lavishly rewarded and driving home in his chariot amidst the applause of the people. It is perhaps significant that a number of Asiatics are shown at the ceremony. A building past which he drives seems to be the small temple attached to the Royal Estate.

Tomb 9 belongs to Mahu, Chief of the *Mazoi* or Police. It is somewhat set back as if to escape notice, and indeed it is in many ways the best preserved of all. Here occur a number of delightful scenes. We see the Royal Chariot leaving the Temple, and the Vizier, forced by tradition to run beside the chariot. The fat old man lurches and wheezes along, and his physical disabilities are heightened by the figure of his tall attendant who is obviously having to cut down his stride to suit that of his master. On another wall the King inspects the defences. Mahu bows before him as he arrives at the line of sentry-boxes or guard-houses, each one connected with its neighbour by what seems to be a length of rope knotted at various intervals. Perhaps this could be used for signalling from one sentry to the next and the knots would tell the distance between the

various posts on a dark night. Elsewhere Mahu is shown drawing supplies for his men from some official store-house. He first of all has to get a warrant from the Vizier, which is carefully scrutinized by the doorkeeper. That this was necessary seems to be evident from a small adjoining scene where he is being quite politely but firmly refused admittance to some wine-cellars. Or is this a raid on a night club? Lastly comes a scene of his exploits in the capture of three foreign criminals. First he is shown at home warming his hands over a brazier. In come his subordinates with news that the whereabouts of the wanted men is known. The assembly has already been sounded, for Mahu's chariot is waiting and the armed "flying squad" is coming on parade at the double. The actual capture is effected off stage, but the criminals are eventually led handcuffed into the presence of the Vizier and other nobles for examination, and the pleasure of the Vizier is evinced in his exclamation of surprise, "As the Aten endureth! as the Ruler endureth!"

Tombs 10 and 11, belonging to Apy, Royal Scribe and Steward, and Ramose, Steward of the House of Nebmaatra (Amenhotep III) respectively, have little of interest in them.

Tomb 12, though small and incomplete, belonged to so important a character as Nakhtpaaten, Prince, Chancellor and Vizier, whose house in the South City is one of the largest and best-appointed houses excavated.

Tomb 13 belonged to Nefer-kheperu-her-sekheper, Governor of Akhetaten.

May, who owned Tomb 14, was a Prince, a Royal Chancellor, an Overseer of the Soldiery and Bearer of the Fan on the King's Right Hand, as well as holding various positions at Heliopolis. But important as his position was, his fall from power was as complete as the suddenness of his rise to office. In true oriental fashion the favourite of yesterday was the outcast of to-day and his name was erased and his figure plastered over evidently by Royal Command. The most striking scene in his tomb is the river front of the Palace with the Royal Barges tied up alongside.

Tombs 15 (Suti, Standard-bearer of the Guild of Nefer-kheperu-ra), 16, 17, 18 (uninscribed), 19 (Sutau, Overseer of the Treasury), 20, 21, 22 (uninscribed) have nothing of interest to show.

Tomb 23, however, is interesting. It belongs to one Any, Scribe of the Altar and Offering Table of the Aten. He was evidently a very

old man. Not only do all the portraits of him on the walls show a falling in of the upper lip due to loss of teeth, but he is also described as being Steward of the House of Aakheperura (Amenhotep II) who has been dead over forty-five years. In this tomb were found six small stelæ given by his household. Five of them show Any seated and receiving offerings for his *ka* or shade, but the sixth, given by his charioteer Thay, shows him as a tired old man visiting in his chariot the tomb which the King has presented to him.

Tomb 24 is that of Paatenemheb, Commander of the Troops and Overseer of Porters.

The southernmost tomb, 25, belongs to Ay, who later succeeded Tutankhamen. He has the titles "Divine Father," Bearer of the fan, Overseer of Horses and Acting Scribe, while his wife Ty, who figures prominently here, was Great Nurse of the Queen. The tomb is unfinished, the excavation of the first hall even being incomplete. But enough remains to show that it was intended to be the finest in the whole necropolis. Three rows of four columns were to have been cut on either side of the central aisle though the Western side has hardly been begun.

The only scene which has been carved shows

Ay with his wife Ty receiving the gold of the King's favour from the Royal Family. It is significant of their intimacy with the Royal Family not only that Ty is there—the only instance of a woman being so honoured—but also that the King and Queen as well as the princesses seem to be stark naked. Meanwhile there are great rejoicings amongst Ay's household outside and six boys are capering about with joy. Then Ay comes out to be congratulated by his friends and to show them the fine pair of red gloves with which he has been presented. The gifts he has received, collars and vases of gold, are displayed to a marvelling group. The doorkeepers of Ay's house hear the din and little urchins are sent to bring news. "For whom is this rejoicing being made, my boy?" "The rejoicing is being made for Ay the Divine Father, and Ty. They have been made people of gold!" A second sentry says to a small boy, "Hasten, go and see the loud rejoicing, I mean who it is, and come back at a run!" The child darts out crying, "I will do it. Look at me!" Another sentry has heard the news and tells his friend, who asks, "For whom are they rejoicing?" "Rise up and you will see this is a good thing which Pharaoh (Life! Pros-

perity! Health!) has done for Ay the Divine Father and Ty. Pharaoh (Life! Prosperity! Health!) has given them millions of loads of gold and all manner of riches!" Two boys are in a corner. One hands over the things he is guarding: "Look after the stool and the sack that we may see what is being done for Ay, the Divine Father." His rather disgruntled companion replies, "Don't be long or I'll be off and keep them, my lad!"

Not only do these tombs give us a vivid picture of life at Amarna, but they also bear witness to the furious hurry in which everything was done and to the lack of sufficient skilled artisans and artists. A tomb would be begun, but no sooner had part of it been excavated than the quarriers were called off to a new one. In came the draughtsmen, for the owner must make sure that at least some of his tomb was complete. They decorate such of the wall as has been completed and are hastily followed by the sculptors, who in their turn give way to the painters for the final touches. Then if the owner of the tomb is lucky he may be able to get hold of the quarriers again for a little while. We can almost see the pen of the draughtsmen following each stroke of the pick!

In connection with these tombs are several structures. In the North-East corner of the plain are a group of three buildings. Originally it seems that a pavilion and an altar were set up here for some ceremony perhaps connected with the dedication of the Northern boundary stelæ. The pavilion, which had been faced with stone, was immediately dismantled, probably to be set up elsewhere. With the cutting of the tombs, however, the altar was enlarged, and although the pavilion was ignored, possibly already having been sanded up, a great altar approached by four ramps was erected, as well as a small stone chapel, and the whole surrounded by a brick wall. Here no doubt funeral services were to be held, for desert roads, formed merely by brushing aside the stones, run hence to the mouths of the tombs. Other roads run to the Southern tombs, and there is certainly a similar series of buildings to be found close to these as well.

The workmen engaged on these tombs were housed in a walled village some miles to the east of the Southern City. To the "County Council" type of workman's cottage we shall return in detail later; at the moment we must look at the village as a whole. The walls surrounding the village are high, but in no sense

defensive, for the village is commanded by the surrounding spur. But walls can keep people in as well as out. There is only one entrance and there are marks of patrol roads all round. Evidently the necropolis workmen of Akhetaten were as rowdy a lot as those at Thebes with their rioting and strikes. It was just as well to have them housed as far away from the city as possible. The regularity of planning with the neat rows of cottages side by side reminds us of the town built at Lahun to house those employed on the pyramid of Senusert II of the XIIth Dynasty. There, however, were found great store-houses and lodgings for the high officials, while here we find only one house of a superior type which must have belonged to the foreman. The workmen belonging to the lowest social class were naturally not such devoted adherents to the Aten as the rest of the population pretended to be. They clung to their old gods and their favourite seems to have been Bes, the little dancing lion-dwarf.

Hard by, on the hillside above in fact, lie a number of tomb chapels belonging apparently to the wealthier members of the middle classes. These are built of mud brick and are essentially all of the same plan, though considerable differences occur. First came an outer court

mud-paved and surrounded by a low brick wall; an inner court lay immediately behind with a low bench of plastered brick running round. Behind this lay the shrine, a rectangular room usually on a slightly higher level, with niches in the back wall, and a small pedestal or altar in the middle. One—the most elaborate—has two columns *in antis* in front of the shrine and the whole is approached by a gateway between two small pylon towers. These chapels were brightly decorated. The walls were whitewashed and the cavetto cornices and columns brilliantly painted. In connection with the chapels a few grave shafts were found. These lay at a little distance, for the rock hereabouts is so friable that a suitable place had to be searched for in each case. All these graves had been robbed of their valuables in antiquity. It must have been a cemetery of importance, although the graves are surprisingly few in number. No other cemetery for the common folk has ever been found. Possibly it is to be looked for on the Western bank, for tradition dies hard and for countless generations the Western desert had been the last resting-place of the people.

The destruction and plundering of these tomb chapels has robbed us of the chance of

learning what difference the new religion made in the ideas of the middle classes with regard to the after life. Evidently the dead man was conceived as returning in the traditional manner to this chapel for the food and drink provided for him by his pious relatives. More we cannot say, for there are only two stelæ found here and both are of an unusual type. It is indeed strange that not only on them but also on fragments of inscribed plaster are found the names of other gods, in particular that of Amen the arch-enemy of the new religion. Perhaps they date from the time when Akhenaten was making overtures to Thebes and people were realizing that they could safely pay their respects to the old gods. Indeed an ostrakon inscribed with the sixteenth year of the King's reign was found near by. And it is justifiable to see in these chapels evidence of the immediate and relieved return to the worship of the powers which had so long protected the Egyptians in life and death.

Last of all comes the Royal Tomb. It lies about four miles from the plain in a small side *wady* which branches off the great main *wady* whose entrance lies between the Northern and Southern groups of tombs. It has been terribly damaged not only in antiquity but also in

recent times during some feud between the guard and his fellow-villagers. You descend a flight of twenty steps, with a smooth incline in the middle for lowering the sarcophagus. The entrance is uninscribed. From here a long sloping passage descends to a second flight of steep steps at the bottom of which is the pit where the sarcophagus once stood. Beyond lies a great chamber decorated with low reliefs showing the Royal Family worshipping the Aten. Of the rock pillars which were left to strengthen the roof all but one have disappeared. At the top of the stairs above the pit opens a small series of rooms to the East which were the tomb chambers of the Princess Maketaten, who died young. On the walls of these chambers we first see the usual scenes of worship, here elaborated by the presence of the foreign races of the Empire adoring the disk. Elsewhere is depicted the funeral of the princess herself, with her family mourning for her. In the train behind are the courtiers, among whom an elderly man occupies an important position. Perhaps he is Ay. The youngest princess too is there with her nurse, uninterested in the scene. Higher up the entrance corridor another series of rooms opens. These are quite unfinished, and the great

dolerite and diorite pounders with which the levelling was done are still lying about.

Perhaps the King lost interest in the tomb after his daughter's death. Perhaps he deliberately tried to put the idea of death from him and would no longer allow work to go on there once Maketaten's chamber was finished. We shall never know. Many fragments of the pink granite sarcophagi have been found. Instead of the usual goddesses at the four corners there are figures of the Queen. Was Akhenaten ever buried here? The alabaster chest in which the canopic jars holding his heart and other organs were put was never used, for there is no trace on it of the stain of bitumen which was always used to seal the jars into the chest. But his *shawabti* figures were there and they were not put into the tomb until the funeral occurred. They may, of course, have been used for the princess, whose death must have come unexpectedly before her funeral furniture could be prepared. But it seems best to assume that Akhenaten was laid here as he intended and that his sarcophagus and probably his very body were broken up by order of his successors.

The building of the new city must have required a great deal of stone. The limestone

of which the cliffs are made is of a very variable quality. Much of it is exceedingly poor. It may well be partly owing to this that solid masonry is so rare, rubble faced with stone being preferred. There is only one limestone quarry, which lies just over the edge of the Northern cliffs. It is cut into galleries, leaving pillars of rock to support the roof. On one of these pillars is the cartouche of Queen Ty, lately defaced in the belief that there must be a door behind it. This quarry may have been the source of the stone for the "Sunshade" of Ty which Akhenaten built for her. Alabaster, however, of a good quality is found in abundance up in the high desert. The most important quarry, that of Hat-Nub as the ancient Egyptians called it, lies seven miles from the S.E. corner of the plain. It was originally worked by Khufu of the IVth Dynasty, who may have made the causeway which leads to it. The kings of the VIth Dynasty obtained stone from there. Pepy I and Pepy II have had their names inscribed on the rock, while an official, Uni, tells how he procured a great alabaster altar for King Merenra. The XIIth Dynasty seems to have deserted this for a quarry about a mile farther South where the name of Senusert III is found.

Probably this quarry too went under the name of Hat-Nub. To the north of the site is a good vein of alabaster worked in the reigns of Rameses II and Merenptah. Traces of workmen's shelters can be found by nearly all the quarries; the waste heaps are often scattered over a large area and fragments of alabaster dropped during transport litter the roads.

III

THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS

BEFORE we begin to discuss the various types of buildings it would be advisable to say a word about the building methods and materials. Tell el-Amarna is a city of mud brick. Only in very exceptional circumstances was stone used. The brick is merely sun-dried, and owing to the fact that quantities of small stones were allowed to remain in the mud the disintegration of the latter in the course of time has caused the extraordinarily pebbly appearance of the unexcavated parts of the site. The bricks are large; 33-37 centimetres long by 15-16 broad by 9-10 high are the measurements of the usual brick, although those used in the walls of the small temple of Hat-Aten were as much as 38 by 16 by 16. These bricks are used for everything, paving included. The Chief of Police alone had specially made flooring slabs which measured 30 by 30 by 5 centimetres.

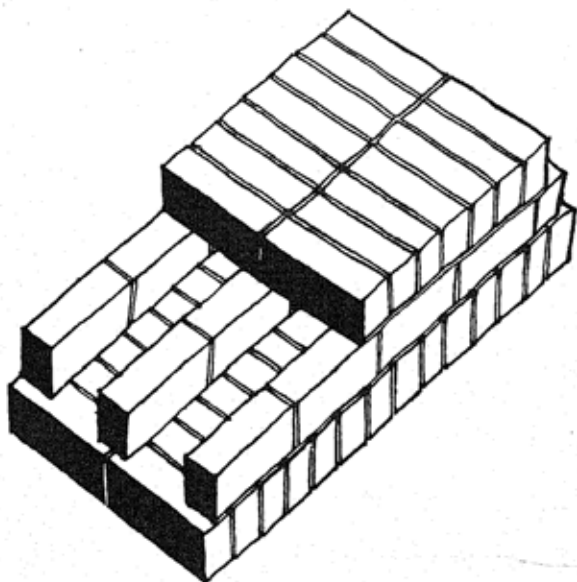
In a country where rain is exceedingly rare mud brick will last for ever, the only destructive

influence being the action of wind-swept sand. To avoid this the face of the wall was plastered with mud which could be renewed. The bricks were laid with a small amount of mortar between each course and none between the bricks of the same course, whose only coherence is the mud plastering which has happened to force its way into the interstices from the surface wash.

No regular system of bonding was in force though a straight joint for more than two courses was avoided. Even corners are frequently left unbonded and later walls were built directly up against ones already there.

Now there is one danger with mud brick, and that is its habit of drying unevenly, shrinking, and so causing the wall to warp. To obviate this the builder often resorted to a system of hollow walls. He would build a wall of a thickness of two bricks, for example. The lowest course would be two rows of headers. The next course would be stretchers, but instead of there being four rows, he would lay only three rows, leaving free space for the air to circulate. This space would be bridged over in the next course and so on. But this meant the risk of weakening the walls and was always avoided where a wall had to carry any great weight or go up to any great height.

In the case of pylon towers or very big walls, therefore, balks of timber were substituted which not only served to tie the bricks but also had a certain amount of elasticity which minimized the dangers of warping. A similar



practice, though for a different reason, is found in Minoan Crete, where a noticeable feature of the buildings is the amount of timbering. Here the reason was the desire to minimize the effects of the earthquakes to which Crete is particularly liable. Wood, however, was nearly as expensive in Egypt as stone, and it

is only in the great official buildings that we find it incorporated in the walls. But it was cheaper and easier to transport and to work. It is, again, only in public buildings, therefore, that stone columns are employed. The private individual, and indeed the King in his private residence, was content to have wooden columns resting on a stone base. These bases have usually rather more than twice the diameter of the columns which they support. This is clear from the careful marking out and centring of the base. They must have acted as extra seats in houses where furniture was scanty, but they must equally have been a frequent source of annoyance and falls. One good householder indeed evidently got so infuriated at continually tripping up and stubbing his toe that he raised the level of his floor until the top of the column base was flush with it.

The preliminary setting out of everything was done with a string. When, for example, they wished to mark out the position of the offering tables on the plaster floor of the temple, a string dipped in black paint was stretched taut and then allowed to touch the plaster and leave its mark. In some cases the string was gently pressed down into the plaster before it had quite set, leaving a shallow groove.

In the same way any wall surface that was to be decorated was first of all squared up before the artist began his work. Sometimes these marks have been left, as in those tombs which are unfinished.

Even in this age of artistic revolt the Egyptian was unconsciously bound by the tradition of centuries. His columns conform to the old palm-frond or to the papyrus type which had been in vogue since the Old Kingdom. The cavetto of his cornices was still painted with upright leaves and the torus roll was still painted or carved with the cords which thousands of years before had tied the roll of plaited reeds, itself strengthening the heads of the palm-fronds which projected up and, nodding forward with their own weight, became the origin of the cavetto.

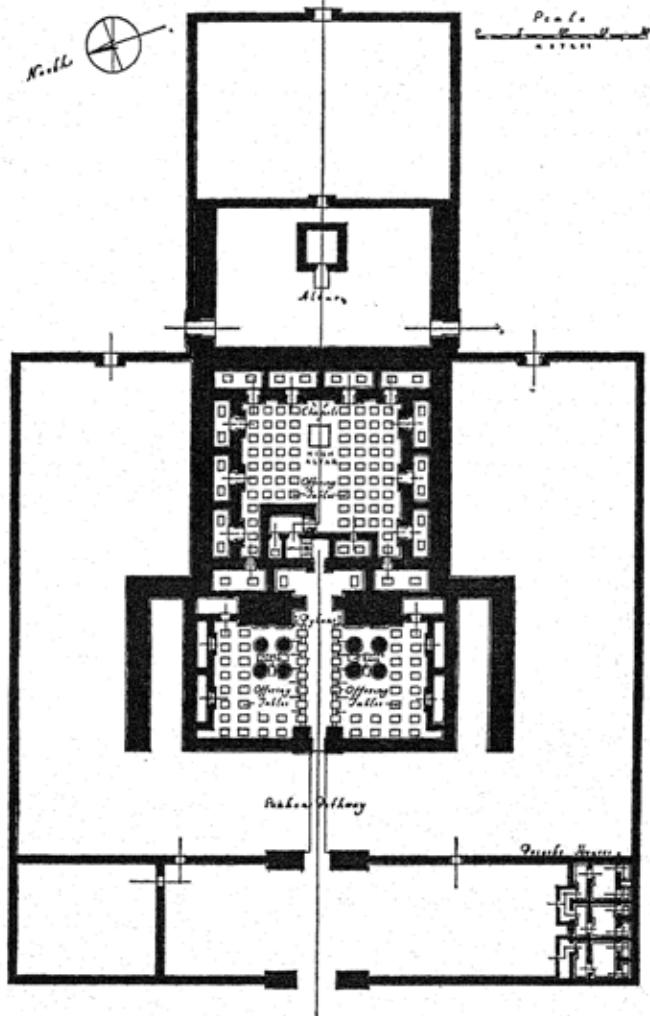
Such novelties as we see in the architecture of Amarna are in plan, not in methods of building, and even in considering the plans we must remember how very little we know of Egyptian domestic architecture in other parts of the country. We must also remember the frantic haste with which everything was done. Akhenaten was a forerunner of the modern Oriental in his desire to see a thing finished quickly and the verdict, I fear, on much of the

building and decoration must be "cheap and nasty."

In considering the spacious lay-out of the buildings and the absence of regular upper stories we must remember that Akhenaten had a virgin site on which to build. Tell el-Amarna is thus in contrast to Thebes, where we know there were two-storied buildings, and in great contrast to the almost contemporary cities of Minoan Crete where four and five stories are the rule. In the two latter cases, all possible available space had to be used, particularly in Crete, where the only sites on which buildings can be constructed are frequently the only sites suitable for cultivation. Under such conditions houses and palaces had to run to height rather than to acreage. But at Amarna the cultivable area was negligible and therefore all the essential rooms of the house were concentrated on the ground-floor, leaving a flat roof, which no doubt played as large a part in the life of ancient Egypt as it does to-day, with a light loggia at one side for really burning days.

The Great Temple of the Sun's Disk lies in the middle of the site on the main thoroughfare. This "House of the Aten my father which I will build in Akhetaten in this place" was to

THE GREAT TEMPLE . TELL EL AMARNA.
RESTORED PLAN OF THE SANCTUARY



Plan of the Sanctuary of the Great Temple.

be the crowning achievement of the whole venture. It was to be the centre of the worship of the new god all over the world. To this Temple the eyes of the Nubian and of the Asiatic were to turn for inspiration for their local sun temples at Sessebi and Jerusalem.

It lies in a huge *temenos* or enclosure nearly half a mile long by over three hundred yards broad, a space which it may have been Akhenaten's intention to fill completely with buildings.

Before, however, even the boundary wall was built some dedication ceremony must have taken place. The foundations of a ceremonial gateway, later razed to the ground, were discovered just within the main entrance. In front of this were a number of plaster receptacles, sunk on the main axis, for liquid offerings, while a mud paving was laid all over the area. From here an avenue of sphinxes led eastwards, to be replaced by trees after some hundred yards. The pits in which these trees were planted have been found—some with the roots still in them—actually underlying the walls of the Sanctuary, while an inner avenue underlies the actual floor. The point to which this approach led was a small shrine of mud brick hurriedly run up for the occasion but later incorporated in the final scheme.

Next came the construction of the *temenos* wall, the main entrance of which did not for some reason coincide with the old gateway but rather clumsily enclosed it, so that to enter the enclosure you walked up a ramp between the pylon towers and immediately descended to pass under the temporary ceremonial entrance which was still apparently allowed to stand. When the wall had been completed, or probably while work on it was still in progress, the Sanctuary was built at the East end of the enclosure. Finally, after some years the King decided to renew his building activities and the buildings known as Per-hai, "The House of Rejoicing," and Gem-Aten, "The Finding of the Aten," were set in hand quite close to the main entrance. This made things very awkward, for the old plaster receptacles were on the main axis and prevented an easy approach, for the West wall of Per-hai actually cuts through one of them. A new plan was therefore resorted to. The ceremonial gate was pulled down and the space between the main entrance and the entrance to Per-hai was filled in up to the height of the ramp from without, thus forming a raised causeway. This causeway is only about three feet above the old level and it is gradually sloped down on

either side so as to be practically unnoticeable. Fresh plaster receptacles were sunk at this higher level but were carefully put on either side of the main axis so as not to interfere with the approach.

This was the final state of the Temple both in the representations of it in the tombs and in the actual remains found on the spot. We have to rely very largely for our restored plan on these tomb reliefs. Certainly little enough of the original is left. Apart from the *temenos* wall and one or two minor structures the walls were of rubble faced with stone, and the causeways and platforms, to which we shall return, were composed merely of sand rammed down within a stone facing and paved over.

When the fall of Atenism came the Temple was taken as a symbol of all that Egypt hated and the destruction of it was complete. Practically not a single block of stone remains *in situ*. The columns and statues were smashed to pieces and the fragments thrown down into the empty trenches where the walls had been. All that remains is the cement floor, the compressed sand filling of causeways and platform and the cement bedding in which the foundations were laid with the marks of stone still upon it. And even the last has often been

ripped up together with the stones, so that we have to go by the varying levels of the virgin sand which show the depth to which the foundations were sunk. We are indeed lucky to have so much to guide us, for it is largely the destroyers themselves who have preserved it. We have seen how their hatred went so far as to fill in the whole area with clean sand and to run a thick layer of cement over the top to seal in the accursed spot. To this is due the fact that the platforms and causeway, now consisting merely of ridges of sand paved over, have been supported to their original height and have suffered no weathering. Thus it comes about that just enough is left to enable us to reconstruct a plan and even an elevation which corresponds in every detail with the scenes in the tombs.

Now we will proceed as if we were of the Royal Party entering the Temple to worship. The party has dismounted from the chariots, to which the grooms are attending. They enter between the tall pylon towers. On their left is a columned pavilion, its massive concrete foundations sunk to a depth of over three feet, since all this approach is "made earth." They pass on to the entrance to Per-hai, the House of Rejoicing. Here again are tall pylon towers

of mud brick faced with stone and fronted each by five tall flagstaffs with fluttering pennons. The doorway has no lintel, for that would block the passage of the sun. Per-hai consists of two colonnades flanking the central passage, which is open to the sky. There are two rows of four columns on each side whose position has been determined by the marks left on the vast platforms of concrete on which they are set. Each colonnade has an altar of fine limestone at the East end, carved with the usual representation of the King and Queen making offerings. Behind the altars a short flight of steps descends into chambers in the thickness of the pylon towers which flank the entrance into the next division of the Temple, Gem-Aten—the Finding of the Aten. Here we enter something quite new in the way of temple architecture.

The ordinary Egyptian Temple shows a transition from the bright sunlight of the open court, through the twilight of the colonnade and hypostyle hall to the pitch-black of the Sanctuary, the air of mystery and awe being deepened by the oppressive sense of being gradually shut in as the level of the floor rises and the roof gets lower.

The Temple at Amarna was a true sanctuary

of the sun with airy courts open to the sky succeeding one another as far as the High Altar. As you pass between the pylon towers of the entrance you come out on to a landing and look down into an open court surrounded by platforms some five feet high. On the platforms are little booths probably made of wood where perhaps you can buy the offerings you wish to make. A flight of steps descends from the entrance down into the court where lies the first great altar with its steps and balustrade. Here are heaped the fruits of the earth and the meat of many cattle, for the Aten, like Pharaoh, seems a good trencherman! Behind the altar a short flight of steps leads you up to a causeway which runs down the centre of the whole building on a level with the platforms which surround each court. On either side of the causeway, completely filling the courts, are square offering tables of stone (that this is the purpose of these blocks is evident from the tomb pictures) while outside the building in the *temenos* on either side are forty rows of twenty offering tables each, made of mud brick. Perhaps these were for the commoners who had not an *entrée* into the Temple or possibly for each town in the Empire. In any case an attempt was made to give everyone a

personal interest in the worship. It was indeed a striving after a universal god.

As court succeeds court, each separated by elaborate gateways and pylon towers, the plaster floors rise in a series of low steps to conform with the lie of the ground. The platforms and causeway thus get correspondingly lower and lower until they come to the court of the High Altar. Just before this, funds seem to have run rather low and we find whitewashed brick taking the place of the stone facing.

The break between the system of platforms and causeway and the altar court is emphasized by an irregular colonnade. Passing through this you arrive at the High Altar, set amongst offering tables in the midst of a court which is itself surrounded by a series of chambers, open to the sky, each one containing one or more offering tables or altars.

This part of the Temple ends abruptly with a blank wall and there is no trace either in the existing remains or in the representations of it of any door leading East. Probably therefore this part of the Temple was used for specific occasions when the Sanctuary was not needed. For if the Royal progress was to include the Sanctuary it would mean an entirely unnecessary return to the entrance of Per-hai.

The final Sanctuary lies some 350 yards to the East. In the pictures it is shown as being practically next door, but that is for reasons of space.

Between it and the part already described lie four oblong troughs, probably plaster receptacles of the type already mentioned. These, however, can never be found since the modern cemetery of Et-Till spreads out at this point and covers much of the ground. A certain amount indeed of Gem-Aten is occupied by this cemetery; stray graves have had to be walled in and a large stretch of the North side left unexcavated. But thanks to the courtesy of the inhabitants we have been allowed to approach as near the limit as may be.

The Sanctuary itself shows the essential features of a temple of the Aten in its simplest form—so simple apparently that it was soon considered old-fashioned, and although it is always represented in the tomb pictures, yet we never see it in actual use as the scene of any ceremony performed by the King.

It occupies a large area some hundred yards long. First come the usual series of pylon towers, leading to an open court, at the South end of which lie three small houses, obviously those of the priests on duty. A second pylon

leads to the Sanctuary proper. In this again we begin with a causeway, stepping down on each side into a court well stocked with offering tables and having rooms to North and South. To the East the causeway passes between two large colonnades. Between the columns of these stand colossal statues of Akhenaten, two on each side, wearing the Crown of the North and the Crown of the South. These colonnades back up against pylon towers. At this point the causeway steps down to the level of the altar court to which the worshipper is led round by two turns, since screen walls are built out to block the view of the Holy of Holies.

This last court resembles in every way the Eastern court of Gem-Aten with the herd of offering tables surrounding the high altar and the series of chambers open to the sky surrounding the whole court.

At the back of the Sanctuary, but approached only from outside, are a series of rooms and passages apparently constructed for sentimental reasons so as to incorporate the original shrine which had been the scene of the dedication ceremony, while beyond this there are no buildings until the small gate in the East wall of the *temenos* is reached.

Of the decoration of any of these buildings we know little. So much was destroyed, and what remains usually consists of tantalizing fragments or wearisome repetitions of the Royal and Divine names.

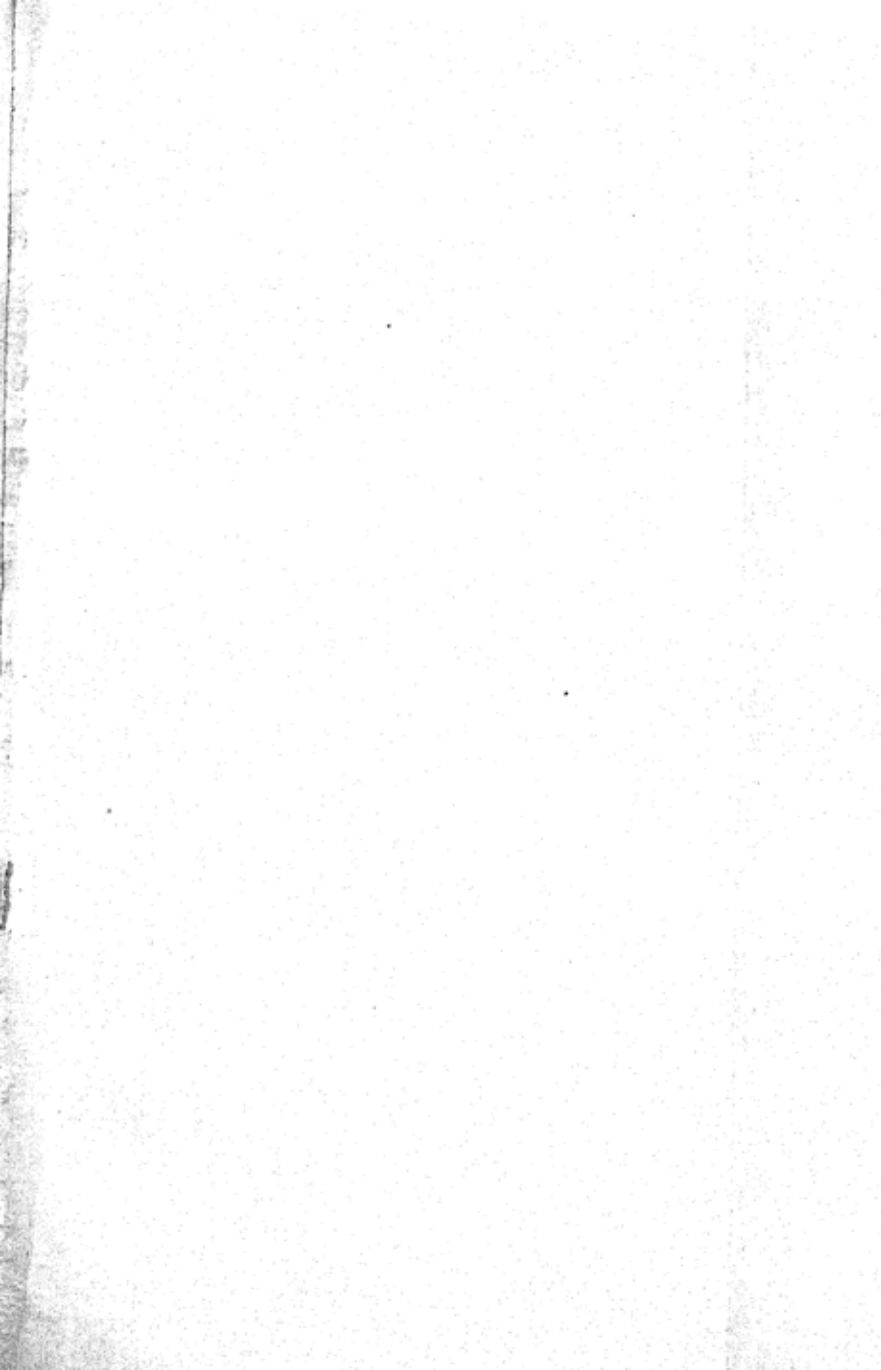
Close by lies a large square building which can be identified as the slaughterers' yard, where the meat offerings were prepared. Between this and the Sanctuary lie the foundations of the great stele and the colossal statue of the King which we see in all the tomb pictures. Fragments of the stele have been found and merely give a list of offerings or of the property of the god.

But quite a different type of temple was the "Sunshade" which Akhenaten built for his mother Ty, when she came to visit him at Amarna in the twelfth year of his reign. We have seen how she brought with her ideas from the outside world, and from the picture in the tomb of Huya it would seem that her ideas in architecture did not conform to those in vogue at Amarna. Professor Capart sees in this picture a representation of a temple differing but little from the normal Theban type. This will, of course, be confirmed or contradicted when the remains of the building itself are discovered, but from what we can

make out in the picture it certainly seems as if he is right. The first court is surrounded by a colonnade. Between the columns statues are grouped in pairs, those of Ty and Amenhotep III alternating with those of Ty and Akhenaten. The Sanctuary proper, though evidently open to the sky, resembles the Theban temples by reason of the grouping of a number of chambers round a central Holy of Holies, the whole apparently being approached through a hypostyle hall.

The Great Temple itself had numerous annexes, most of them unfortunately below the modern cemetery. The official house of Paneḥsy, Chief Servitor of the god, lies outside the S.E. corner of the *temenos*. Here no doubt was transacted the actual business of the Temple revenues. The Hall of Foreign Tribute lies astride the North wall of the *temenos*. It is a large building, open in the middle where the throne would be set beneath the baldequin. On all four sides a flight of steps descends towards this point.

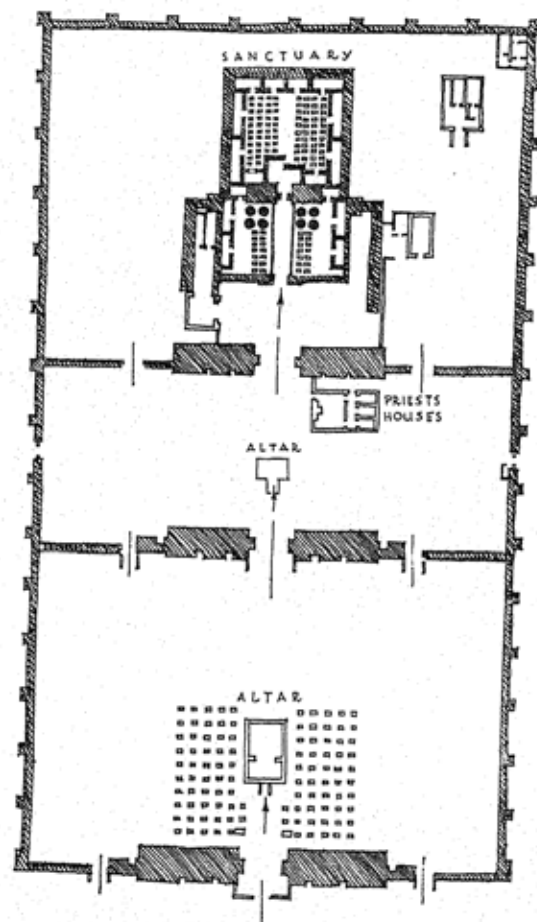
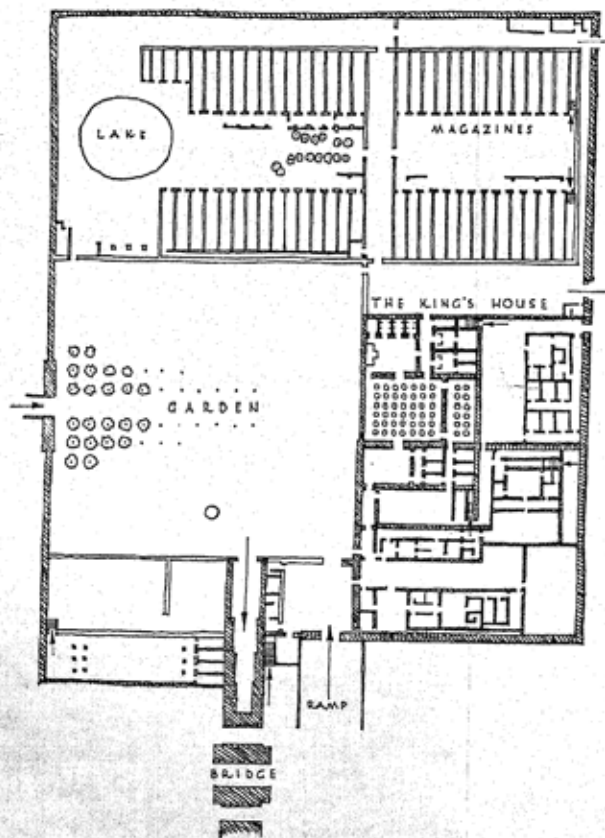
The other important public buildings in this area consist mainly of long rows of magazines for the storage of revenue and tribute, and of offices such as the Records Office, whose plans are irregular in the extreme and, like the



THE ROYAL ESTATE, TELL EL AMARNA.

Scale.
METRES 0 5 10 15 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 METRES

NORTH ←



Plan of the Royal Estate, omitting the Official Palace.

[To face p. 83.]

Tax-gatherer's Office in the North Suburb, are well provided with waiting-rooms where the inevitable crowd which flocks to all public buildings in the East could sit all day discussing their cases and arranging the amount of the bribe necessary for their successful conclusion.

We now turn to the residence of the King. First comes the Royal Estate. Hat-Aten—the Castle of Aten—it was called. It occupies an area nearly 500 yards each way. (See Plate II, 1.) West of the Royal Road lies the Palace. This was excavated by Petrie over forty years ago. It is a palace in the sense of a series of great official halls and state reception rooms, but there is no place for domestic quarters. These must be looked for elsewhere. The plan as it appears at present is most confusing and it is hoped that further excavation will throw more light on it. Furthermore, the pictures in the tombs do not give us as much help here as in the case of the Temple. I imagine that the latter was not only much easier to represent but was also so novel in plan that particular efforts were made to show it accurately. The Palace, however, probably showed little divergence from the normal and was in addition so com-

plicated and contained so many rooms that the artist merely selected such rooms as he felt he would like to show and fitted them wherever they would go best in the picture. The representations of the Palace are usually subordinated to the main scene, which is the Window of Appearance. This probably was the room above the bridge which led across the Royal Road to the gardens of the King's house on the other side. There is, therefore, the possibility that the artist has sometimes shown rooms from the King's house as well. But in any case it is only further excavation that will shed any light on the matter.

The wall surrounding the Palace was double, leaving a passage all round immediately within. This was a device regularly used where valuables were kept, for it enabled quite a small guard to patrol the whole circuit and to see at once whether anyone was trying to break in from outside.

The modern cultivation has encroached so much over the ruins that to-day we do not even know where the entrance lay. At first glance the most striking feature of the plan is the forest of square bases of mud brick at the South end of the Palace. They were whitewashed and had a torus roll running

up the corners. Fragments of painted plaster showing trellis-work and vines were found among them. It is possible, therefore, that these square piers ran up a considerable height and supported a roof which had been painted in this way. If this is so we have here the forerunner of those huge columned halls which are such a feature of the next dynasty's architecture. It is possible, however, that the painted plaster has fallen from the top of the piers themselves, and the suggestion has been made that the whole of this area was a vineyard, the vines running up the piers and across trellis-work laid above. It would be in keeping with Egyptian ideas to decorate such supports for the vines with a pattern of grapes. A third possibility too must not be overlooked. Bearing in mind the rows of offering tables in the Temple, one's first impression on looking at the plan is that these also are offering tables of the same kind and that there is still to be found some chapel or altar in the midst of them. Excavation will show, but the present height of these bases seems rather too great and we have to remember that they must have weathered away to a certain extent.

Late in Akhenaten's reign this hall, or vineyard, or shrine, fell into disuse and was used

as a sort of lumber-room where broken wine jars could be thrown, and eventually the entrance was blocked up by a brick wall.

To the North the Palace has been much denuded, though traces of the foundations of stone walls are still to be found, and in one case of a large altar whose sloping balustrade was found close by. North of the abutment of the bridge was a group of rooms with painted pavements, but the only part of the Palace to show a regular plan is the building still further North. Here was an open court flanked by colonnades which appeared over a low surrounding wall. Behind the colonnades were small cubicles fitted up with shelves, while to the South lay a series of rooms with magnificently painted pavements. The finest of these was protected by being roofed over after it was found, but it was ruthlessly destroyed during some village feud and only sad fragments remained to be transported to Cairo. The scene was divided into two by a central path, painted with representations of Asiatic and Negro captives to be trodden underfoot. On either side was shown a pond with fishes and water-lilies in it and birds fluttering over. Surrounding the pond are marshes in which papyrus waves and the wild-fowl flutter.

Among the reeds calves are plunging in a most delightfully natural manner, while a formal touch is added to the whole by means of a border of bouquets and vases. It is one of the most joyous and unconventional pieces of decorative work which has come down to us from antiquity. A dado round the wall showed a group of servants making ready for the return of their master, sweeping and sprinkling the ground and hurrying along his dinner.

In the open court was a well, the balustrade carved with the name and titles of the Queen. It may be that this was the Queen's pavilion. The columns, of which fragments survive, also show a freedom and lack of conventionality. Vines and convolvulus climb and cluster round the shafts, reminding us of Gothic capitals. Birds hang head downward in "swags" or the King and Queen are shown making offerings to the god. Many of the capitals must have been a brilliant sight. They were of the old palm-frond form, but the ribs and leaves instead of being merely indicated in the carving were emphasized by inlaying brightly coloured glazes and gilding the surrounding stone so as to give the appearance of the rich *cloisonné* work which was the

pride of the Egyptian jeweller. Cornices were also treated in this way. But it is typical of the East that in the parts which would not show red and blue paint was substituted for the glaze inlays and yellow for the gold. Colossal statues of quartzite and granite stood in some court which has now disappeared and the whole building must have had an appearance of unbelievable splendour.

At the extreme North end of the Palace there seems to have been a craftsmen's quarter, for many fragments of relief, finished and unfinished, were found here as well as fragments of *shawabti* figures and a great deal of granite dust. Here too was discovered the plaster death-mask which probably gives us the King's actual features.

The bridge which connects the Palace with the King's House has three openings, that in the centre being paved with mud brick, those at the sides with stone. A feature of the construction is the huge size of the barks of cedar used for tying the brickwork. The room above the bridge was elaborately decorated with fantastic paintings of flowers and trees. No doubt there was also some form of decoration outside, a cornice of uræus heads, such as we found at the great gateway in the North,

or perhaps statues and inscriptions, but nothing was left.

The King's House was built on a rise in the ground level, and stands out even more by reason of a great substructure of brick which brings the West side up to the proper level.

To the North lay the garden in three terraces, the lowest of which was occupied by summer-houses and potting-sheds, the upper giving access to the bridge and containing avenues of trees. Outside the entrance which lies to the North are formal flower-beds. The whole garden is covered with a layer of plaster rendering which is very good for some flowers, particularly carnations, though we can hardly hope that Akhenaten grew those!

The house itself is entered direct from the garden, or if you came in your chariot you drove up beside the bridge and passed through a small courtyard whence a door brought you into an L-shaped court with the servants' quarters and porters' lodge on your right. From here a series of lobbies leads to the great central living-room, the roof of which was supported by no less than six rows of seven columns each. To the South lies another hall with ten columns in two rows. The family shrine is in a room to the East where an altar

of mud brick stands against the North wall with a few steps leading up to it between sloping balustrades. The rest of the East side of the house is taken up by the private suite of the King and Queen with their bedroom and bathroom and small closets for wardrobes.

The decoration of the walls is very striking. At the bottom runs a dado, of a simple panel pattern in the private suite, but elaborated in the reception rooms by the introduction of the sedge alternating with the papyrus as symbolizing the union of Upper and Lower Egypt. Above this were painted scenes. Unfortunately only the lower part of these remains, the upper part having been destroyed when the bricks were removed for building purposes in Et-Till. The more public rooms seem to have had processions of the subject races of the Empire, Negroes and Libyans and Asiatics, while the ceiling was painted yellow with pictures of ducks and other water-fowl fluttering over it. In this it resembles very much the decoration of the palace of Amenhotep III at Thebes. But a new and more characteristic scheme was adopted in the purely domestic rooms, where by good fortune survived a good deal of the charming scene shown on

Pl. VII, 3, in which the Royal Family is seen at play. This painting was most cleverly removed from the wall by Petrie and is now at Oxford. Further fragments which were recovered during more recent excavations aid us in reconstructing the scene. Akhenaten and Nefertiti are seated facing one another, he in his chair, she on a cushion on the floor. The columns which support the roof of the room, the Venetian blinds which keep it cool, the row of jars containing the beer and wine which the King loved, and the rich coverings of chairs and footstools are all treated with elaborate detail.

Between the King and Queen stands Meritaten, the oldest princess, with her arms affectionately round the necks of her sisters Maketaten who was so soon to die and Ankhesenpaaten. On the floor are playing two younger children, Nefer-neferu-aten-ta-shera (the little Nefertiti) and Nefer-neferu-ra, whom she is chucking under the chin. Just a tiny fragment shows that the baby of the family, Setepenra, is on her mother's lap. No more delightful scene was ever painted; the colours are as fresh as when they were first laid on.

In the South-East corner of the building is what is practically a separate suite of apart-

ments. The most noticeable feature of these are the six small rooms with broad niches at the back. Such rooms in other houses we know to have been bedrooms, and it does not require an undue amount of imagination to see here the night-nurseries of the six princesses!

In another room in the same block were found two paint-brushes of palm fibre, several fish-bones for use as drawing quills, the ends still stained with colour, and a good deal of raw paint. The floor was covered with irregular streaks where the brushes had been wiped. It would be very nice to think of these brushes as those of the King himself. We know how interested he was in art, and his master-sculptor Bek tells us that His Majesty actually instructed him with his own hands. Akhenaten would not be the last prince to dabble in painting and probably to infuriate the professional artists with his suggestions.

East of the house is an open court from which there is access to the garden, to the avenue of trees between the house and the Temple Hat-Aten, which has here a private entrance for the King, and to the Royal Magazines. This latter great building is divided by open aisles into four groups of a dozen or so long

store-chambers. In the aisles are trees and on special occasions a light pavilion might be set up. A representation of this building occurs in the tomb of Meryra, in the scene where he is being rewarded for his services. From this picture we learn the contents of these magazines. Some contain sealed wine jars, others ingots and bowls. Sacks of valuables are stored here, beautiful vases of precious metals of foreign workmanship, bales of cloth and linen-chests. One half is given over to food, loaves of bread, grain, dried and split fish and sacks of spice. In places the supports for the shelves still survive and some at least of the ancestral treasure has come down to us, for here was found a splendid jar of alabaster, containing $24\frac{1}{2}$ *hennu*, about three gallons, and inscribed with the name of Queen Hatshepsut, who had been dead for more than a hundred years.

In connection with the King's House was the smaller temple—the Chapel Royal one might almost call it—of Hat-Aten. The main entrance to this is on the Royal Road, but, as we have seen, the King had a private entrance from his own house, and so had the priests from their quarters to the South. The *temenos* wall which surrounds it is considerably

thicker than that of the Great Temple and is heavily buttressed every fifteen yards. The pylon towers are very well preserved with the slots for the two tall flagstaffs which fronted each. The entrance was paved with stone. This has all been taken, though the imprint of the mason's marks can be seen in the plaster bedding below. Immediately within the entrance lies a brick chapel or altar flanked by rows of brick offering tables. Sphinxes may have guarded the approach, for there are two oblong bases strengthened with stone as if to bear a heavy weight. On the inner face of the wall stelæ were set.

Another set of pylon towers led to the second court and a third to the court of the Sanctuary. Against the outer wall-face of the latter is a small building with a brick altar in the front room. This may be the house of the priest on duty. The Sanctuary itself is exactly like that in the Great Temple. It was built of rubble walls faced with stone and has been even more badly treated, for not one single stone remains *in situ*. Here again we see a raised central way flanked by offering tables leading, through a door with a screen wall to shut out a view, into the court of the High Altar, open to the sky and surrounded by

chapels. The fragments of columns and statues in fine-grained limestone imply that there was a colonnade of the same type as in the Great Temple. All round the Sanctuary is an ambulatory with an avenue of trees, while small buildings occupy part of the court South of the Sanctuary. It is possible that we have a representation of Hat-Aten in the tomb of Tutu, for his picture alone shows avenues of trees in connection with a Temple.

South of the Temple lie the Priests' Quarters, the Temple store-houses and the Sacred Lake. The store-houses lie to the West. There is a big open court off which an open gangway leads. On either side of the gangway are long rooms, magazines, glass furnaces and bakeries. East of these are further store-rooms with a large sunken stone press, and East again a small compact house with two bedrooms and a number of robing-rooms with shelves. Last of all comes the Lake.

This then was the royal Estate. But the King had other residences, and the most important of these was Maru-Aten, the precinct of the Southern Pool. This pleasure-palace or Paradise lies opposite the village of El-

Hawata, nearly a mile South of the South end of the city. Here are two large rectangular enclosures, lying side by side. There was a great entrance pavilion with columned halls and a throne-room. Behind this lay a small lake surrounded by a garden with trees and shrubs. At the back of this seems to have been the chief gardener's house. From the garden a small door leads into the larger enclosure. Along the West side of this, screened off by a wall, ran a row of buildings for workmen, while just outside the enclosure is a building which, from the skeletons of greyhounds found there, may well have been the Royal Kennels. Most of the Northern enclosure, however, was taken up by a great pleasure lake over a hundred and twenty yards long and half as broad. Out into this ran a stone quay with an ornamental gate at the end decorated with painted reliefs and steps leading down into the water. The lake was surrounded by a garden and must have been the scene of such picnics as we see depicted on the walls of the tombs of Theban grandees. Though only about three feet deep the water was quite sufficient to float the light pleasure craft while shallow enough not to be dangerous should a boat capsize. Among the

trees and flower-beds lay other buildings. To the North were perhaps the retiring-rooms of the King with a dais for a throne beneath a baldaquin, a bedroom and a small central court surrounded by pillars. Here were flower-boxes, mud compartments filled with garden mould. On either side of a columned hall behind were wine-cellars, containing "very good wine of the Western river" or of the "House of Akhenaten." In the North-East corner of the enclosure was the water court. This consisted of one long room, its roof supported by square pillars. Down the centre run a series of T-shaped tanks, the heads of the T's being alternately North and South, so that between the arms of each pair was left a square base for the pillar. The sloping sides of the tanks were painted white up to the surface of the water and above this with brightly coloured water plants, lotoses and water-lilies which must have looked as if they were actually growing out of the water. The low parapets were similarly decorated, while the pavement itself consists of a series of frescoed panels showing all kinds of wild plants from which startled flights of duck arise, and brakes of papyrus amongst which cattle are plunging.

From this water court a formal garden runs South to the small temple and kiosk. An artificial canal had been cut round to form an island on which stood a kiosk and two small pavilions. South of this appears to be a chapel which is of unusual shape in having a court surrounded by a colonnade, a pronaos with four columns and a sanctuary also with columns. But so little of the original was left that it is possible that this reconstruction is at fault.

The North Palace, which lies just over a mile North of the Temple, is a building unique in the ancient world. It has every appearance of having been a kind of Zoological Gardens where the King could watch animals and birds and satisfy his love of nature.

There is a great court in the centre of the building mainly occupied by an artificial lake. At the back of this are two columned halls which led to a small throne-room at the East end. The North side of the Palace is divided into three parts. To the West lies an open court with a chapel and altars in the middle. Then comes an enclosure for animals. The stone mangers found here are carved with reliefs of cattle and antelopes. The North-Eastern corner is occupied by a garden sur-

rounded by a colonnade. Below the colonnade are a series of rooms, some of which from their decoration seem to have been aviaries. The South side is likewise divided into three parts; two appear to be for servants and officials, while the third, in the South-Eastern corner, may conceivably have been a suite for the Queen. It is noteworthy that a corridor which runs through the King's apartments has a flight of steps at each end so as to command a view of the aviary at the North and the harem quarters to the South. But the North Palace is most famous for its frescoes of bird life in the marshes, the freshness of which is unparalleled even at Amarna. To these we shall return when the time comes to discuss the art of the period.

No doubt other Royal residences existed which will in time be excavated. (In London, for instance, the King has Buckingham Palace, St. James's Palace, Kensington Palace and the Tower.) There is, for instance, no building yet discovered which would house the princesses once they had grown up and had households of their own. Indeed the King's house in the Central City is a real home and gives us an extraordinary sense of intimacy with the family life which we can certainly not obtain

from the sprawling ruins of Amenhotep III's palace at Thebes.

But enough has been said to indicate the character of the public buildings of the city and it is time to turn to the private residences.

IV

THE PRIVATE HOUSES

FROM Palaces and Temples we descend to private houses. These are best studied in the North Suburb, for not only is that the one section of the city to be completely excavated, but the houses on the whole belong to the middle classes and display perfectly the essentials of the Amarna house without the elaborations and additions of the nobleman's mansion.

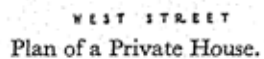
We have already seen how the land was allotted when the site was first settled and how estates were laid out, first along the main streets and later on an inner circle, while in the centre were the slums. I propose to describe first the ideal estate, based in the main on house T. 36. 11, which lies at the corner of West Road and Straight Street. A scale model was made of this house and various small details, mainly in the shape of out-houses and stables, were added from other estates. The plan of T. 36. 11 is shown here and photographs of the model and of houses

actually excavated appear in the plates. (See Plates II, 2, III and IV.)

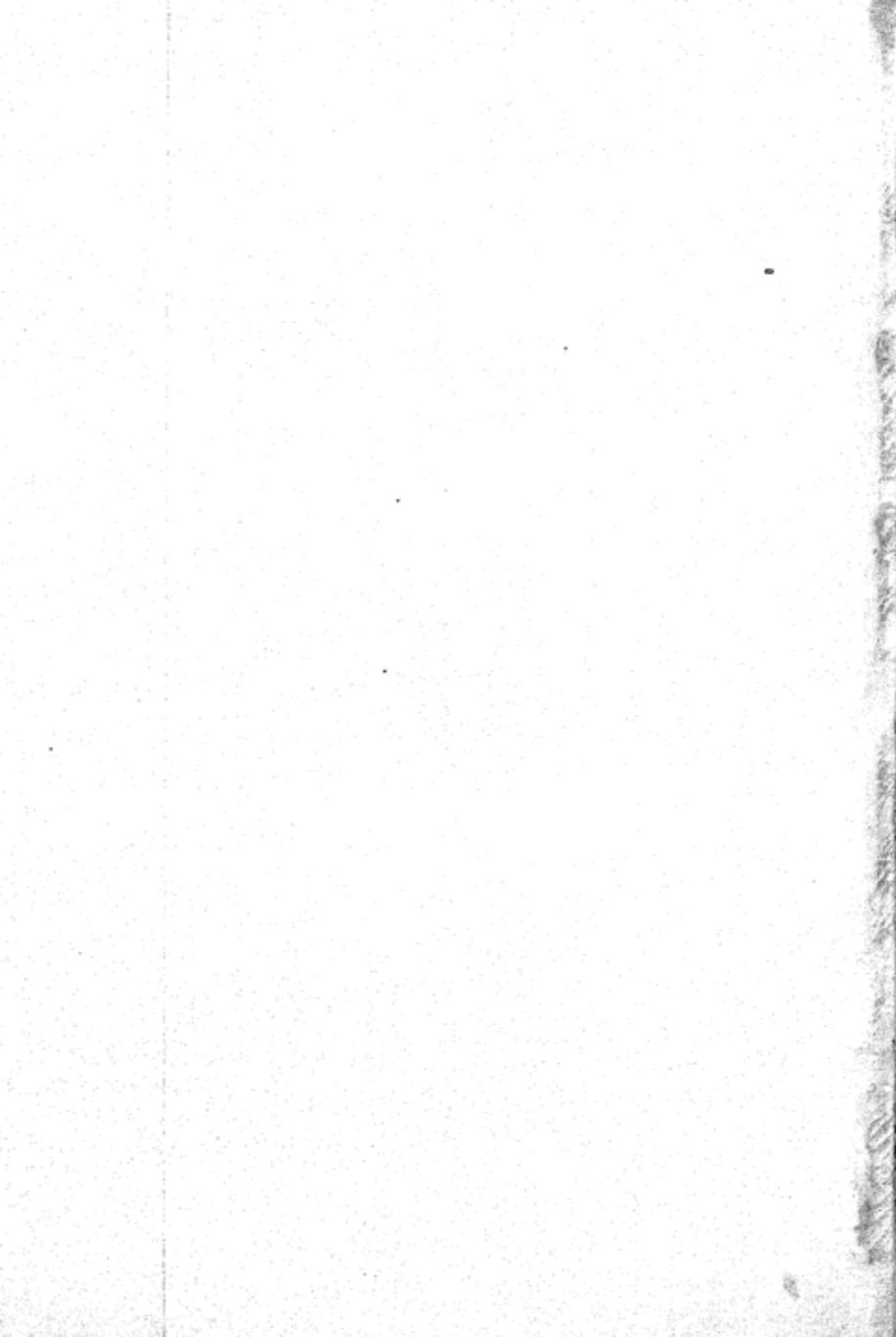
The house is situated in extensive grounds, if we may imagine the house-agent's advertisement of the period—some seventy yards by fifty actually. The boundary wall of the estate is about ten feet high and occasionally displays a crenellated top. The main entrance lies between two small pylon towers, and immediately within is a porter's lodge consisting of a single room with a bench and a brazier. Safely past the porter, you proceed along a path bordered by trees to the chapel. The chapel is a feature of every house of any size, but it is usually found in a very ruinous condition and the present example is one of the best preserved. Curiously enough, orientation did not seem to matter; the chapels face in all directions. A short flight of steps leads up to a small temple *in antis*, open to the sky except for the minute colonnade. The cornice was of gaily-painted plaster. Within was a square altar or offering table and on the back wall a stele might be placed showing the King worshipping the Disk of the Sun. This was the place of worship for the family.

Behind the chapel lay the garden with its formal rows of trees and shrubs, each set in

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
SCALE OF METERS



[To face p. 102.]



its "puddle" of river mud (for nothing will grow in the sand), and the inevitable pond.

A path at right angles leads into the inner courtyard, where again there is sometimes a formal garden, and we enter the house.

The principle of the house is simple. It has a main living-room in the middle with rooms built all round to keep it cool. So as to light the central room its walls were run up above the level of the rest of the house and clerestory windows were inserted. The outside of the house is plain mud brick except for the front, which is often whitewashed. A flight of steps leads up to the front door, for most houses of any pretensions were built on a solid *podium* of brick, originally intended no doubt to give a firm base for the walls and to level up inequalities in the ground, but later increased for mere ostentation. The front door was, whenever possible, framed in stone, the jambs were carved with the name and titles of the owner, if he was a man of importance, and the lintel bore a representation of the man worshipping the Royal and Divine names and saying a short prayer. (Cf. Plate III, 2.) For those who did not rise to such heights, brick jambs painted red and a plaster lintel sufficed. The threshold was of stone in which was cut

a pivot-hole for the door. It is good evidence of how valuable wood was that many of these pivot-holes have been cut through so that the door could be slid out and transported elsewhere. From the porch you enter a small vestibule, though one house at least has also a guest's cloakroom at the end of a lobby, and thence the first reception-room which lies always either to the North or to the West so as to avoid the heat of the midday sun. The ceiling is supported on wooden columns which have disappeared completely, leaving only the fragments of painted plaster which once covered them. The stone bases, however, remain, or at any rate the holes in the brick paving from which they have been taken. From the first reception-room or entrance hall you enter the central room. Over the main door is another carved stone lintel. The central room is the main living-room of the family. The roof is usually supported on four columns. Against one wall is a raised dais and against another a stone lustration slab. There is a hearth for warmth, either movable or built in with bricks and having a small hob on the side next to the dais. Off the central room opens another smaller reception-room—in this case to the West. It usually has two or more

columns, and occasionally the presence of a hearth indicates that it might be used as a regular living-room. On the other side of the central room is a door leading to the stairs and to a cupboard below them. From the stairs access was gained to the roof and to a light loggia which was built over the North or the West halls. The presence of such a loggia is proved by the occurrence of very small column bases and of fragments of painted plaster which are found in the room below, though they do not fit into the scheme of it. The rest of the roof was flat with perhaps a parapet all round. So much for the more public part of the house. Next come the domestic quarters. These in large houses are separated from the rest by a corridor, but most often, as in the present case, they open directly off the central room. There is an inner sitting-room where no doubt the ladies of the house would spend much of the day, the master's bedroom and those of his wives, and the bathroom and closet. In this case the master of the house had a whole suite of rooms to himself. An anteroom opens off the inner sitting-room. Thence a door leads into the bedroom. This room usually occupies the South-East corner of the house for some

reason. Its chief feature is a thickening of the walls at one end, forming a sort of niche. Here is a dais on which the bed would stand, kept cool by the thickness of the walls. Small stone stands have been found on which to place the legs of the bed. We have found many clay models of beds and we can see that there was a head-rest at one end, while at the foot was a tall panel which was highly decorated. The bathroom also opens off the anteroom. The bath itself is a stone slab in one corner surrounded by a screen wall over which a slave would pour the water on to his master. The water runs off either into a vase which could be emptied or through a drain outside the house. The walls were panelled with stone to prevent damage from splashing. In this room was found a slab of stone set on a brick base and having three bowls cut out of it. Beside this lay a stone stool, and evidently the master of the house was rubbed down after his bath with the preparations of which the grease and crystals still remained in the bowls. Beyond the bathroom was the closet. Here was a pierced limestone seat, hollowed out for comfort and supported between two brick compartments containing sand. In one case pottery dippers were found in these. Below

the seat was a vase. Bathroom and lavatory were whitewashed.

The one unusual feature in this house is the presence of three small rooms opening off a corridor which leads from the West hall. It is possible that they are guest-rooms, since they have communication with the more public part of the house only, and we may have evidence of some ancient scandal in the hole which has been broken in the wall separating these rooms from the harem quarters.

The interior decoration of the houses is somewhat formal. No private house boasts such painted scenes on its walls as adorned the residence of the King. The decoration is confined to a frieze of fruit and flowers very much stylized, occasionally broken by more naturalistic garlands and birds hanging head downwards and to the beams which support the roof. The fragments of painted plaster from which our idea of the decoration has been gained were the subject of the most laborious work by Dr. Frankfort and Mr. Lloyd. Very often the wood of the beam had been taken and the plaster was lying where it had been stripped from it. If any wood remained it was completely eaten away by

the white ant, which had also riddled the mud plaster. But by carefully comparing one fragment with another, measuring the angles where there was a corner and spending hours cleaning the surface with a soft brush, it has been possible to reconstruct the various schemes with certainty. The cross rafters were always pink. The whitewash of the ceiling, however, extended down to form a band along the top and at each end. The main beam was painted with a block pattern, tartan and chequers. The ceiling too occasionally had bands of rosettes at intervals. In the North hall of one house the passion for symmetry of the Egyptian substituted for the ordinary frieze of fruit and flowers a continuation of false glazing bars to carry out the idea of the small grill windows all round the room. This was no doubt also the reason for the false window in the central room. The Egyptian could not have borne to see windows on three sides and none on the fourth where the roof loggia was built up against the wall of the clerestory. He therefore inserted sham vertical bars. Again, door must balance door, so where necessary a false door or niche was sunk into the wall and painted to resemble the jambs and leaves. Sometimes, however, these niches

seem to have had an almost religious character, for they are inscribed with prayers and one at least shows a scene of the King making an offering. But in origin they were undoubtedly a means of obtaining symmetry. The real doors were usually framed in plaster, though Pl. III, 1 shows stone jambs and lintel which were set up again in the house of Hatiay, Overseer of Works. This door leads into his bedroom, and there is a great socket for a bolt inside and a hole in the jamb outside in which to insert a peg, so that by winding string round the peg and sealing it on to the door the latter was safely sealed. An identical practice was found in the Temple Tomb at Knossos.

Of the furniture of the houses we have recovered little. Practically all was removed when the city was deserted. From the tomb of Tutankhamen and from that of Yuia and Tuyu his grandparents we can see the types of chairs and stools and caskets which must have stood in the rooms. Gay embroideries were draped over the couches, and rugs and skins served for carpets. The inside of a house, though simple and rather austere, must have been a glow of colour with the patches of bright paint and the gilded or polished furni-

ture. The windows seem small, but the sunlight is so intense that large windows were unnecessary, and besides they would let in dust and sand, since there was neither glass nor the oiled parchment which the Minoans used.

Dress too was simple, though the luxury brought by foreign conquests was beginning to make itself felt. For some occasions the old linen kilt sufficed, but the ordinary garb of men and women was a robe of pleated linen reaching well down the leg and caught up at the waist and over the breast so as to leave the forearms bare. This robe accentuated the square shoulders and narrow waists and hips and long legs of the typical Egyptian figure. The head was shaven or, in the case of women, close cropped and a short curled wig was worn sometimes bound with a fillet. The only colour in the dress was the heavy collar—almost a breastplate—of gold and precious stones, or imitating them in blue and red and green and yellow faience. Thick bracelets adorned the arms and massive rings the fingers and thumbs. In many of the tombs of the nobles at Thebes we can see the merrymaking and the wild parties that must have gone on in such houses. Laughter in Egypt is never

very far from the surface and this world was so good a place that the next must be like it, for nothing better was possible.

In the grounds were the servants' quarters, long rooms with the roof supported on square piers. Sometimes a small house for the steward or bailiff is found. These and the kitchens were always to the East of the house, for an East wind is a rarity, and unless things have changed very much in three thousand years it was better to be to the windward of your servants and food. When cooked the food was brought into the house by a service lobby which usually opens on to the entrance hall. That sounds as if it would get cold, but our meals to-day are carried down in a box to the work over a mile from the house and often arrive too hot to be eaten.

In connection with the kitchens was the bakery. The ovens, made of baked clay, are found in most houses, but a particularly complete example of the whole building was found in an estate shortly to be described. The bakery consisted of a store-room, a room with a plaster bench at a convenient height for kneading the dough, long racks in which to dry it, and lastly the ovens in which to bake it. It is a system still in use in the village

near by. Exactly similar ovens or rather furnaces were used for making glass and faience. The bins in which the grain was stored lie to the West of the house in a court by themselves. They were tall beehives in shape, arranged in pairs with a flight of steps between the bins. The grain was poured in through a hole at the top and extracted by means of a trap-door below. Another type was round also, but was not vaulted over and probably had a flat wooden roof which could be removed when the grain was to be put in or taken out. Another way of storing food or wine was the sunken cellaret. This is merely a brick-lined hollow in the ground, sometimes of considerable size and vaulted over with bricks. The vaulting is interesting as showing how the builder avoided the necessity of a temporary centring of his arch by making each "hoop" of bricks lie back at an angle on to its predecessor. These cellarrets were finished off with a coat of mud plaster. Steps lead down into the larger of them.

The well was an essential feature of every large estate. The depth at which water could be obtained naturally varied according to the distance from the river and the time of year. A small flight of steps led down to water

level.¹ Near the water supply lie the compounds for cattle with round mangers sometimes divided into four sections like a *hors d'œuvres* dish, and a few houses boast what were evidently kennels. The stables often occupy part of one side of an estate. They consist of a cobbled standing space for the horses with a tethering-stone let into the ground. The square mangers are built up and behind them runs a feeding passage so that they can be filled from outside—a very modern touch this. Another room seems to have acted as a shelter for the light wooden chariot. The harness-room is behind the stables and there is often a hay-loft for the grooms reached by a flight of steps.² One corner of the stable court is frequently walled off with a semicircular wall. The compartment thus formed acted as the muck-heap, as we can tell from excavating it.

Such was the estate of a private individual—not a particularly wealthy one perhaps, but

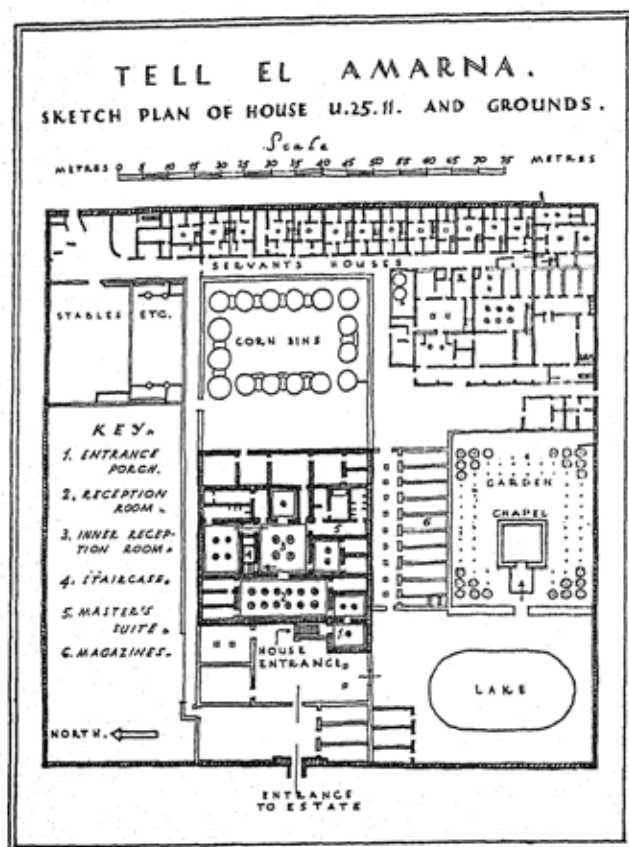
¹ In the North Suburb, where alone slum houses have been excavated, we found that several houses often shared a single well and that there were at least two public well-houses situated in frequented squares.

² Should there be any reason why the chariot should not be kept in the estate, as, for example, when the doors are found to be too narrow, or later improvements have made it difficult for them to turn or be manœuvred, a shed is sometimes erected outside the main entrance.

nevertheless quite a warm man. And every private house conforms to the principles just described. A prince might have a dozen columns in his entrance hall and a few more rooms, a poor man was content with a hovel consisting of a central room with mere cubby-holes opening off it, but the principle of a main living-room surrounded by others to keep it cool is invariable.

A slight variation is noticeable in some large mansions which seem to be in the nature of official residences. The best example is the house U. 25. 11, which has been rebuilt to house our expedition. Apart from the King's house it is the largest in the whole city and the walls were left standing to a good height.

The entrance to the estate lies almost opposite the ceremonial gateway in the great wall at the North end of the city. There are two courtyards with outbuildings in them. One of these has two square piers and a hearth; it was probably the guard-room. A flight of ten steps leads up to the front door. The porch has one column and the vestibule two. These rooms are larger than the main living-room in most houses. The entrance hall had no less than twelve columns. The four column



Plan of a Noble's Official Residence.

bases in the central room are no less than four feet in diameter. The North hall has four columns and probably also peculiar long partitions of whitewashed bricks which run out

from the walls and practically touch the columns. These were observed in an exactly similar house which lies immediately to the South. Perhaps they were for some lustration ceremony. Opening off this room is a long store-room with shelves to hold such liquid refreshment as might be offered to a guest. To the South of the central room is another feature which this house has in common with that to the South, a large room with two columns and two smaller rooms opening off it. Here deep chests of brick were found against the walls. They may have been clothes-presses and this a robing-room. Behind the central room is a small sitting-room with a single column, occupying the position usually assigned to the inner sitting-room of the harem quarter. Here, however, there is no communication with any room but the central one, and furthermore there are no traces of any rebate or nibs for the door. This implies that it could never have been shut off by anything more substantial than a curtain. It is, in fact, a prolongation of the public reception-rooms, and the owner probably admired the vista of columns which could be obtained from the entrance hall right through to the back of the house. As is always the case in

these official houses, the domestic quarters are cramped in the extreme and make no provision for anyone but the master of the house. Here there is a corridor which leads to a small anteroom, behind which the bathroom and closet were apparently combined, the master's bedroom, and a dressing-room with shelves. The cramped appearance of these rooms in contrast to the splendour of the rest of the house does not mean that the owner was a bachelor or even a misogynist—two species of mankind unknown in Egypt. It must mean that the owner was liable to spend a night or two here while engaged on official duties which prevented him from returning to his private house. Or he may only have taken a midday siesta here—that is not unknown in Government offices.

South of his house lay his garden with a lake and a chapel built of stone surrounded by orderly rows of trees between which the course of the irrigation ditches can still be made out. The size of his chapel and its construction in stone are paralleled in the house to the South, where there was the further elaboration of two sets of massive pylon towers converting the chapel into a small temple.

A narrow passage led round the North side of the house, passing a large paddock on one side where the well was, to the granary court which lies at the back of the house. Here were no less than sixteen large corn-bins. A small set of rooms backed immediately on to the house and access to these was obtained through a short corridor from the central room.

Beyond the granary court are a row of workmen's cottages. Curiously enough, some of these were the first houses ever excavated by the Germans long before the house itself was cleared and their connection with it known. They were rebuilt to house the trained workmen from Quft, so that all unconsciously the servants of the great house were lodged in the buildings originally intended for them. These cottages are of what we may call the County Council plan. They are identical in every respect with those of the Workmen's Village, and consist of an entrance hall with a closet at one end, a main living-room sometimes with a column, and two small rooms behind, bedroom and kitchen. Stairs gave access to the roof. Thus they are of the simplest possible pattern, and these narrow quarters the workman shared with his wife and family and often with the animals,

for skeletons of both a cow and a horse have been found inside houses. A modified version of these cottages was used for the clerks' houses South of the Records Office.

South of these cottages was the domain of the steward. He had a small neat house of his own and could oversee not only the great barns and paddocks to the East but also the store-rooms and magazines to the West. In these store-rooms were small square bins which were evidently intended to hold specimens of different kinds of grain which would be removed with the shell scoopers that were found here.

This great official estate gives us the impression, with its barns and compounds, of having been perhaps the "Ministry of Agriculture."

In this great city, the centre of the Empire, there must have been a large number of foreigners, resident and probably carrying on their trade. There is a picture found at Amarna which shows a Syrian soldier, Terura, who has married an Egyptian wife. They are sitting at home while an Egyptian servant is offering his master a drinking tube, one end of which is deep in a wine jar. Such scenes must have been common. Petrie found a

house in which he thought he could detect Semitic ideas in the stepped place for ablution and the tiny adjoining room which may have acted as a place for prayer. Another house, this time in the North Suburb, not only shows signs of having belonged to a Mycenæan Greek, the inevitable Greek grocer of his day, but also is so good an example of a merchant's estate that it is worth describing. There is the usual gateway on to the street, and from here the path leads direct to the house. On the left is a chapel surrounded not by the orderly rows of trees which were the delight of the Egyptian's heart, but by a scattered grove, the trees planted in no sort of order, just as we see in frescoes and on rings from the Ægean. A pleasant touch is the thin screen wall which was built out at right angles to the porch to block the view of the kitchens and servants' quarters. The house is simple, there are only two reception-rooms, the entrance hall and the central room. The stairs leading hence up to the roof are peculiar, for instead of a blank wall supporting the second flight there is a square pier which is unique in Egypt but the rule in Crete and in Mycenæan Greece, though often a round column was preferred. The domestic quarters consist of a sitting-

room, the master's bedroom, another bedroom presumably for the wife, and a bathroom. Here the bath-slab was made of plaster, and though we have definite evidence that this house could not have been inhabited for more than about seven years, yet that slab was repaired again and again so that now there are no less than eleven layers of plaster. This passion for plastering and replastering is not an Egyptian one, but we have only to look at the great hearth at Mycenæ with its ten layers of painted plaster, and at the innumerable floor levels laid down in quite a short time on Cretan sites to find a parallel. Among the objects found here were a complete "pilgrim bottle" of Rhodian or Mainland Greek fabric, a number of Mycenæan sherds from other vessels and a face in pottery which was once the leg of a tripod—a purely Ægean shape—and resembles nothing so much as the bearded gold mask from the shaft graves of Mycenæ. With only circumstantial evidence to go on we cannot take it as proved that the owner of the house was a Mycenæan, but the suggestion is worth making if only to make people realize that such foreigners must have been resident in the city.

From his entrance hall a small door led out

to what was probably his shop. This was built up against the West wall of his house—he had no West hall—and consisted of a verandah, the roof of which was supported on two columns, an inner room and a number of magazines. The public entrance was no doubt in the North wall of the estate which is broken away. Round the South side of the house led a passage. On the left of this was a long brick-lined store-pit to which steps descended. This passage led to a large open square to the West with a separate entrance for the caravans to enter and unload. The goods might be temporarily stored and the animals tethered in a great *khan* or compound. This had a light awning over it supported on posts which rested on round bases of mud. At intervals there are mangers. It is precisely the type of *khan* that is so fast disappearing to-day in the East. One side of the square was taken up by the bakery already described. In a corner was a little house neatly planned and decorated but consisting only of a central room, a well-appointed bedroom and two or three small closets. This no doubt was the lodging of the steward or perhaps the chief pastrycook.

Enough has been said to indicate the main features of the domestic architecture of the

period. Its interest lies in the fact that the builders were unhindered by the presence of earlier structures to be fitted into their scheme or avoided. It is plain that we have at Amarna an expression of the architectural ideals of the Egyptians when given a free hand, and it is only disappointing that we have no other contemporary city with which to compare it.

V

ART

IN considering the art of Amarna we must always bear in mind that, shortly before Akhenaten's accession, there had occurred one of the greatest catastrophes in history, the sack of Knossos and the other cities of Crete and the downfall of the Minoan sea power. The actual date of this disaster is uncertain. We know that it took place in the reign of Amenhotep III, for objects bearing his name and that of Queen Ty are the latest Egyptian objects to be found in Crete and at the same time the earliest to be found on the mainland of Greece. Similarly in his reign the importation of Minoan pottery into Egypt ceases and its place is taken by pottery from Mainland Greece and the islands. It looks very much as if Crete had been holding the trade with Egypt as a monopoly and that her downfall was due to a combined effort on the part of her mainland dominions to break through to the wealth of the South. However that may be, it is strange that save

for the tale of Theseus and the legend of Atlantis we have no record of those terrible days when every rich city went up in flames and the Minotaur was tracked to his lair and slaughtered in burning Knossos. Perhaps—maddening thought—there was an eye-witness's account among the tablets which were allowed to be destroyed after their discovery. One tablet of those remaining, however, is significant. It speaks of the increase of piracy on the part of the Lykians and others and of the need for strengthening the coastal police. That sounds like a result of the disappearance of Minoan thalassocracy which had kept the high seas safe for hundreds of years.

In any case the downfall of the Minoan Empire must have had much the same effect as the fall of Constantinople before the Turks. Hundreds of fine artists and craftsmen must have fled overseas. To what country would they turn but Egypt, with which they had had friendly relations for a thousand years and more? There in the bitterness of exile they watched the greedy merchants of Mycenæ and Rhodes snatching the markets which had been theirs for so long. No doubt if we could find a diary of the period we should read of brawls between banished Minoan grandees and up-

start mainlanders, the long swords out and the shouting, and the arrival of the police to clear the streets!

We have seen that Egypt at this time was very susceptible to foreign influence. The easy-going, broad-minded court of Amenhotep III was always ready to welcome a new idea whether it was from Syria or the Ægean. Perhaps Akhenaten had a Minoan tutor! But at all events a startling change takes place in the spirit and outlook of Egyptian art at just this time, which can only be attributed to a sudden intensification of Minoan influence.

Minoan art was individualistic as opposed to the universalistic character of the older Egyptian art. Where in Egypt a drawing or relief was true in the abstract, Minoan art was true to personal observation, and it was this that appealed to Akhenaten with his insistence on truth—by which he meant “What I call true.” It is a complete change of outlook that we find at Amarna, the sudden switch over from an objective to a subjective point of view. This is so complete and sudden that we must attribute it to the King himself, for no one else could have caused this revolution. In it we can see reflected his self-centred personality and also the curious feminine traits in his

character. It is particularly significant that whereas it had been the invariable rule that statues of men should have one leg advanced and statues of women should have the feet together, here it is reversed. The King stands with his feet together while the princesses and the Queen advance one leg. It is difficult perhaps for us to realize to-day what a revolution this implies. It is as if all modern portrait-painters with one accord depicted their male subjects wheeling prams and their female subjects smoking pipes.

This feminine influence spread everywhere. The figure of the King with its extraordinary feminine secondary characteristics was imitated in all portraits. Then too for the first time the long draperies of ordinary life are shown instead of the austere loin-cloth of tradition, and we have seen how the most intimate scenes from the private life of the Royal Family were carved and painted.

I have said that the older Egyptian art was true in the abstract. That is to say, that it set out to give a picture which should tell a story comprehensible to all and containing every detail to make it intelligible. Thus a picture of the siege of a fort would show a plan of the fort; up against the plan would be a

scaling ladder, that is to say, that it is treated as an elevation, while within the plan it is treated as a section with all the details shown of what is happening inside. The figures are treated as so many hieroglyphs for the action they are performing. No figure is introduced who has not got some connection with the scene. Crowds or bodies of soldiers are represented by a kind of shorthand where the nearest figure alone is shown in full and the profile of the rest is drawn round his. It was the action which mattered.

But at Amarna as in Crete it is the individual that mattered, and with this new interest in characterization there came for the first time an attempt at grouping. Sometimes naturally it is exaggerated. The fresco from the King's house (part of it in Plate VII, 3) shows an attempt to combine all the figures. The princess nearest her mother has her head turned towards her father. The princess nearest her father turns to her mother. They are linked by the eldest princess who embraces both. Nefertiti has an arm round all three, and even the youngest girl on her mother's knee extends her hand to an impossibly long arm which the farthest princess stretches to her.

Most successful of all are the scenes where the nobles are being rewarded by the King. Instead of a stock set of figures with formally bowed heads and conventional gestures, we feel the excitement and the bustle as the collars of gold are hung round the neck of the favourite, whose arms quiver in an ecstasy of pride and loyalty. His retinue is busy handing the presents along the line and the spectators are given an interest in the scene, for though their backs are bowed in adoration they cannot resist craning up their necks to see what is happening. Outside are casual loafers at the street corners, whose endless conversations are interrupted by the news. In contrast to the older interest in what is being done, we have here an interest not only in who is doing it but also in where it is being done. There is always some background of recognizable buildings. The Temple is shown and the busy streets between it and the Palace, just as the painters of Knossos were careful to give the setting of their scenes. Yes, it is an extraordinary change in outlook.

Of course all these new ideas were not easily assimilated. The earlier works of the reign are often grotesque in their exaggeration. Look at the statue in Plate VI, 3, which was

set up at Thebes during Akhenaten's first few years. It is the work of a man who has been told to throw all his previous training to the winds and to produce what the King told him was really there. Unnecessary and particularly unflattering details are emphasized. The old Egyptian artists had learnt from centuries of tradition what to omit. Now they are told they must omit nothing, and naturally they go too far at first. But very soon their natural good sense and good taste came to the fore again, and while they still allowed themselves much more realism and sometimes what we may call impressionism, they managed to combine it with the skill and care of their ancestors. That is what makes the art of Amarna so interesting—the skill and knowledge of highly trained artists applied to new subjects and to the emphasis of new features.

And with all this there came a love of nature for its own sake. Interest there had been for some time. Thothmes III had carefully depicted the plants and animals which he had brought back with him from Syria, but that was more in the nature of a scientific interest. At Amarna it seems that we have for the first time a desire to look at nature. In the frescoes of the North Palace we see the wild-fowl in the

marshes, the pigeons and kingfishers fluttering among the reeds (Plate VIII, 1). There is no human interest. There is a complete absence of hunting scenes which are so common at all other periods, when the birds and animals are introduced merely as part of the story to be shot or trapped. We are reminded of the hunting cat fresco from Agia Triada in Crete, where the slinking creature is stalking birds with such stealth and ferocity that it is quite frightening to look at (Plate VIII, 2). Or we think of that wealthy burgher of Knossos who decorated the walls of his house with pictures of singing birds and fountains and a blue monkey mischievously plucking the fantastic flowers. In the "Green Room" in the North Palace as in Crete the decoration ran all round the room, so that you seemed actually to be in the midst of the marshes.

Of sculpture in the round we have a great many examples. The house of Thothmes the sculptor was found by the Germans and another studio by the English. As we should expect, all the best works are portraits, though in some cases it is impossible to say of whom. One would like to collect together all the portraits of the epoch and to have them judged by a committee of sculptors and doctors with

archæologists strictly excluded. I believe that we should get a very satisfactory result and that most of the heads we now have would be with certainty assigned to their originals. The Egyptian had always been a great portrait sculptor, and once the early exuberance of the movement had worn off he entered upon a finer period of portraiture than has ever been known save possibly in the Old Kingdom in Egypt and the Roman Empire.

The most common material was limestone. One particular kind from Gau is as hard as alabaster and was left uncoloured, other softer kinds, however, were brightly painted. Alabaster also was used, usually for small statuettes, while quartz, sandstone and granite were preferred for larger works. Steatite also is known, and so is wood, though since no wooden statue has yet been found in regular excavations because of the white ant, such works as are already in museums must be accepted with caution.

For statues in the round the old rather stiff formal attitudes were kept for the most part, but two or three examples are known where the figure is as free and naturally posed as can be imagined. Take the figure of Ankhesenamen seated in the bows of the alabaster boat from

Tutankhamen's tomb. With her legs drawn up to one side, one hand supporting the weight of her body and the other holding a flower to her lips, she is one of the most charmingly natural figures that have ever been carved. Take also the unfinished statuette of Akhenaten kissing some member of his family who is seated on his knee. There is nothing stiff or formal about that. But on the whole fresh poses were avoided and the sculptor adhered to his fine traditional rendering of the human body with a concession to fashion in the pot-belly which everyone copied from the King. It was the head on which was lavished all his skill. We can imagine Akhenaten saying "Wart and all," like Cromwell! Truth! truth! truth! Queen Nefertiti had had ophthalmia and one eye was glazed over in that horrible way only too well known to those in the East. That must be shown! So must the flabby body and lack-lustre eyes of old Amenhotep III. The wreck of a fine man is shown on that little stele. Truth! truth! truth! Casts were taken of the faces both in life and death. Part of the death-mask of Nefertiti was found on the surface of the ground and the rest below (Plate V, 1). We can see the actual expression of Akhenaten with his slightly asymmetric un-

balanced face, and of Amenhotep III as he grew older. No doubt the casts from life were circulated to the studios, where the sculptors learnt them by heart. We have many examples of what we know as sculptors' trial pieces in which they try out their hand on a relief portrait. One particularly interesting example probably shows an attempt at the features of Smenkhkara, the co-regent, before his face was very well known. There are trial pieces in every stage of the work from the rough blocking out of the head of Nefertiti, where the ink outline of the original drawing is still visible (Plate V, 2), to the carefully finished model with all the details of face and dress complete (Plate V, 3). These trial pieces are indicative of the high standard which many of the artists had attained, and they are naturally freer and often done for pure fun. We have already mentioned the caricature of Akhenaten, unshaven and bristly; then there is the little princess eating a duck, studies of animals and a score of other subjects.

In sculpture in the round too we have most of the stages; the practically round lump of stone, the all but finished portrait with the guiding lines in ink still unerased or with the correcting lines of the master showing where

alteration was needed, and the head in its final state, coloured and gilded. We can see the temperament of the true artist too in the head, probably of Meritaten, found in a sculptor's house. It is unfinished, one cheek is still left rough and the axial lines are still there, but so certain was the sculptor that it was his masterpiece that he had been unable to resist painting the lips even at this stage.

The portraits of Akhenaten are many, ranging from the abominations of Karnak to the not unpleasing head shown in Plate VI, 4. It is curious that he, the least warlike of the Pharaohs, is almost always represented in the war helmet. Everyone knows the famous head of Nefertiti in Berlin (Plate V. 4); not so many have seen the even more charming statuette of her when she was getting older and sad and disillusioned (Plate VI, 1). There are many heads of the princesses, whose names unfortunately are never inscribed (Plate VI, 2). They all have the same extraordinary projecting skull which has been attributed to such deliberate distortion as is still practised in some parts of the world, or to a close-fitting cap, but which is most likely merely an exaggeration of the pronounced physical peculiarity we see in the skulls of their relations Smenkhkara and

Tutankhamen, which was emphasized by the sculptor in accordance with the new rules about truth in art. They all have the same sharply-cut lips and the same sweetness about the mouth, which is turned down a little at the corners and has two little lines running down the side which give the face a look of melancholy and sickness. In reliefs they are always represented as wearing the single lock of youth which fell down one side of their heads, but in the round their heads are always clean shaven. Several heads exist which must be portraits of Meritaten or of Ankhesenpaaten when they had grown up and probably when they were already queens. These all show a projecting peg at the top of the head on which to fix a crown of another stone, and also a peg below the neck proving that the body was intended to be of a different material, probably white limestone to represent their robes. This is the earliest evidence we have for statues planned in more than one stone. Heads were also carved in low relief to be inlaid into wall scenes. Here the eyes and brows were themselves inserted in blue glass and a head-dress in faience was added. Sometimes these inlay heads are of amazing delicacy. The detail in one has a depth of only a millimetre, so that it

looks a flat profile until the light strikes it at a particular angle.

The statues of private individuals are rare. The finest was found in the North Suburb and is shown on Plate VII, 1. It is only about eight inches high, but the individuality of the face is astounding, as well as the details of the collar-bones, hands and feet, while the slack pose of the body and the single lotos held in the hand give the air of gentle decadence and preciousness which is the keynote of Amarna. Another statuette shows us that however great the disapproval with which the official eye regarded the old gods, yet they were quite unconsciously held to be exercising their old functions as patrons of various aspects of life. In this group a scribe is seated cross-legged with his roll of papyrus and his ink-pot and pen on his knees. He is about to write at the inspiration of his patron god Thoth, who is here represented as a baboon crowned with the horns and disk of the moon and squatting on an altar. Here again we see the gentle melancholy of the period, and the figure of the scribe carries us back to that of Amenhotep the son of Hapu, the great minister of Amenhotep III whose name was held in reverence for more than a thousand years after his death. He too sits in the attitude of a

scribe, and the weariness of years seems to appear in his face as if he had foreknowledge of the overthrow of all that he had striven for in his faithful service to his master.

We have already discussed the trial pieces in relief and the reliefs in the tombs. There is another class of relief, however, which is worth noting. It consists of a group of square plaques, highly finished and painted. They vary in height from eight to ten inches and were presumably inlaid into a wall, since the back and sides of the slabs are left rough. On them are carved and painted little scenes, usually of the private life of the Royal Family. The best known is that which represents probably Smenkhkara and his wife Meritaten (Plate VII, 2). It shows the young King leaning gracefully on his staff while the breeze flutters his robes. The Queen advances to him holding out a flower for him to smell. In the relaxed poses and the appearance of the neck being too weak to support the head we have the weariness and the disillusionment of Amarna personified.

There is no family in the history of the world whose pictures are so heartbreaking in their unhappiness. It was a wonderful school of artists, led by such men as Bek and Thothmes, who were so able to catch the spirit of the day

and hand it on to us. These faces help us to understand the whole tragedy of the experiment. They give us a much-needed antidote to the sense of fury invoked by reading the Amarna letters.

The art of painting as we have seen was revolutionized by the introduction of fresh subjects and a fresh point of view. The Egyptian had always been a magnificent draughtsman. The purity of his line is unrivalled in any country at any period. His colours were simple and clear: black, white, blue, emerald-green and olive-green, brick-red and vermillion, and yellow. These were kept in small bags, which have disappeared in the course of time, while the powdered colours themselves have coagulated into lumps which still bear the impress of the stitches. We have none of the very fine brushes which must have been used for the most delicate work, but the thicker ones for washes are not uncommon.

The paintings are executed on a surface of mud plaster mixed with fine hairs to strengthen it. Sometimes the colour is applied direct, but more often there is a fine white surface wash. In most cases the colour is laid on in a flat wash, but there are occasions when shading is used, and it is an open question whether what

appears to be a high light in the princess fresco is due to accident or design. No surface varnish was used, but in spite, or perhaps because, of this the colours are frequently as bright as the day they were first put on. Even when they are dimmed by smoke or exposure the paint is so thick that very gentle brushing will often remove the surface discoloration and reveal the original brilliance below. Unfortunately the plaster at the back is so rotted by the action of time and the white ants that minute cracks have appeared in the painting, which has therefore to be strengthened before removal by a thin coat of some celluloid solution. This does the least damage possible, but it cannot but take something from the freshness of the colour.

Some of the most beautiful objects which are found on the site are made of faience. An extraordinary range of colour was obtained in the process of glazing and the walls which were inlaid with faience plaques must have been a blaze of colour. These plaques often represent calves gambolling in the marshes or birds flying among the trees. Lotos buds are common both for inlay and for the terminals of necklaces, for faience was a good substitute for precious metals. Dr. Frankfort discovered a complete necklace which had been carefully

folded up and placed under a loose brick. It contains a great variety of beads and pendants, most of the latter being shaped like leaves or petals. There are cornflowers of green and purple, lotos petals, dates, melon seeds, mandrakes and bunches of grapes. Other necklaces have tiny figures of animals or gods or human beings as pendants. Bes was a particular favourite, so was Hathor, for by now each amulet had acquired its special function and was hardly considered to be a sign of the worship of forbidden gods. Finger-rings of faience are common and bear a multitude of designs upon the bezel. Sometimes they are cheap imitations of jewellery, for they are of yellow faience to imitate gold with blue or red or green upon the bezel to imitate lapis lazuli or malachite. Great bunches of grapes were made to be hung from the ceiling or from the trellis-work of a summer-house. All these small objects were made in clay moulds, of which thousands have been found. If you admired a friend's amulet or the design on his ring you pressed it into a lump of clay—the finger-prints and palm-prints are still visible—baked it and sent it to the glazier to turn out the required number of copies. Of course if you wanted work in precious metals you had to have a

mould carved in stone, since clay would not stand molten metal.

Then allied to the manufacture of faience was the glass-making. Here the vase was moulded round a core of sand. Stripes of different colours were laid on and dragged into the required pattern while still hot. The resulting wavy lines were so popular that for many centuries they continued to be the favourite design, and there are many fragments of glass from late Greek graves which are almost indistinguishable from those made at Amarna. Among the complete specimens found during the course of excavation the most successful is a vase made in the shape of a fish.

The centre of these industries was some way south of the Palace at a point where Petrie found a number of furnaces and a great quantity of fragments thrown away on the waste heaps.

Like pottery these small objects of faience and glass are of the utmost value to the archaeologist. They are easily breakable but practically indestructible, for where the fragments are thrown there they will lie unchanged for thousands of years. Being quite useless once broken they are not disturbed. They cannot be melted down and used again like metal,

and such thousands of them necessarily being made the numbers of a particular species may be used as evidence. Thus rings or scarabs bearing Royal names have been of service in determining the comparative date of certain quarters of the town.

The pottery, like most Dynastic Egyptian pottery, is on the whole sad stuff. It is only in countries like Crete and Greece, where precious metals are rare, that Royal patronage lifts ceramics into an art. For the most part the vases are unpainted and strictly utilitarian; indeed since many have spent the whole of their existence buried up to the neck, decoration would be superfluous. Some, however, are painted and the favourite colour was blue. Usually the decoration consists of bands of blue lotos petals outlined in black or red, but whole scenes occur on some. A sacrificial ox is led to the slaughter; a hunter returns with his spoil or a servant is carrying jars. These are very rare. More often there are heads of Bes or of Hathor in painted relief on the shoulder. But on the whole it would be safe to say that ninety per cent. of the pottery is undecorated. Its main value lies in the fact that it was often inscribed. Wine jars would have on the shoulder the year of the vintage and the name

of the master of the vineyard. This, as can easily be seen, is of great importance for dating the various parts of the city and for determining the length of the King's reign. But of even greater value is the use made of fragments of vases for writing on. Papyrus was valuable and in any case has been eaten by white ants by now, but a sherd could be picked up anywhere and a few notes jotted down on it. Even letters were written thus and were, fortunately for us, thrown away.

Besides being inscribed the wine jars were also sealed with a heavy mud sealing which comes well down over the neck. In shape it is a truncated cone and stamped with the vintage "Good wine of the Southern Pool," "Wine of the house of 'Aten is propitiated.'" In the case of the commandant of the barracks, however, the sealings were painted bright blue and the inscription in yellow, "Wine, very very good," was surrounded by a Royal cartouche. Imperial Tokay!

Smaller sealings of mud are found, perhaps for documents or boxes. These have been stamped with the signet ring of the owner and often have delightful small scenes on them as well as inscriptions.

The rings themselves are found in great

numbers. They are almost always of bronze, for gold, silver, and electrum were too valuable to be left behind when the city was deserted. Many were covered with a wash of gold for appearance's sake. But sometimes a scarab would be mounted on a hoop, though this practice seems to have been dying out.

Most of the valuable metal-work has, as I say, disappeared, but bronze knives and daggers, scissors and needles, fishhooks and fleshing knives are very common. Weights too were made of bronze and often took the form of animals, bulls, ducks, frogs, or the heads of dogs, calves or leopards. Sometimes they are inscribed, but more often I suspect that the shape in which they were made signified the weight, just as Greek coins were not inscribed but were known by the designs stamped on them.

VI

RELIGION AND LETTERS

IN a book of this character, which is mainly concerned with the material objects illustrating the site and its history, it is obviously impossible to go at length into a study of the new religion, its origins and its results. This would mean entering the rough and difficult seas of Egyptian religion as a whole. I have therefore contented myself with sketching its influence on the people and with trying to make clear its outlines.

We have already seen the rise of Atenism politically into a state religion, and it is the purpose of this chapter to examine it in its accomplished form. That in this form it was the work of a single mind or of a small group of minds admits of little doubt.

The name and titulary of the God until the ninth year of Akhenaten's reign are as follows: "May the Good God live who takes pleasure in Truth, Lord of all that the Aten encompasses, Lord of Heaven, Lord of Earth, Aten the

Living, the Great who illumines the Two Lands, may the Father live: (Ra lives, Horus of the Horizon who rejoices on the Horizon)|. (in his name 'Shu who is Aten')|. who is given life for ever and ever, Aten, the Living, the Great, who is in jubilee, who dwells in the Temple of Aten in Akhetaten." After the ninth year of the reign a new titulary is given, presumably to remove the few theriomorphic signs and ideas in his name, such as the hawk of Horus and to exclude Shu which means "empty," but which was the name of an early anthropomorphic god of the Air. The new name runs: "(Ra lives, Ruler of the Horizon, who rejoices on the Horizon)| (in his name 'Ra the Father who has returned as Aten')|." At the same time, in view of the celebration of the God's jubilee, the title "who is in jubilee" is altered to "Lord of Jubilees."

Now a point to notice is that the actual name of the God is enclosed in a royal cartouche—in two cartouches actually, since it is so long. And from this and from the celebration of the god's jubilee we see that the Aten was regarded as a king. Thus in the official datings on the boundary stelæ and in the tombs the name of the god follows the date immediately even before the name of Akhen-

aten, as if the Aten were the senior partner in a co-regency.

The connection of the new god with the old sun-god Ra is shown not only in the name—particularly in the later form of the name—but also in the fact that the chief priest was called “Wer Mau,” “Chief of Seers,” a title held by the chief priest of Heliopolis, while the Heliopolitan Mnevis, the sacred bull of the sun, is promised burial in the Eastern Mountain of Akhetaten. We must not forget too that Maat—“Truth”—was the daughter of Ra and Truth holds an important position at Amarna. Thus, while in the form it took the new religion was a fresh invention, yet it had its roots in the immemorial tradition of sun-worship, and no doubt the particular points of resemblance were included in order to secure the sympathy of the priesthood of Ra.

To take the outward ritual first. Warde Fowler has defined religion as “the effective desire to be in right relationship with the power manifesting itself in the Universe.” The power recognized by Akhenaten was that of the disk of the sun. Whether he regarded the disk as a symbol of that power or as the power itself is uncertain. At the moment it is best to attempt to find out what means were used to ensure the

right relationship. It is clear to begin with that there was a complete break in the traditional manner of worship. The Great Temple has already been described and the difference has been pointed out between it and the dark mysteries of the normal sanctuary. There being no cult image there are no toilet or pre-toilet ceremonies. There is no anointing of the statue with unguents. The liturgy consisted mainly of the presentation of offerings and their consecration by means of stretching forth the *kheryp* sceptre. The offerings of food and drink and flowers are elevated and placed upon the altars or offering tables. Incense perhaps was burned, but that is uncertain. The main difference from the old religious ceremonies, apart from the absence of the cult statue, lies in the prominence of floral tribute, though this had always been a feature of worship, and in the important part played by the Queen, who seems to be on an equal footing with the King before the god.

The ceremonies were accompanied by music. While the preliminary offerings are being made at the entrance by the King and Queen, the princesses shake *sistra* and chanters, bowing low, sing to the accompaniment of soft hand-clapping. In the Sanctuary itself are a choir

of blind singers and a blind harper who sing and play during the service, but the female musicians do not perform in the Temple. Their function seems to be the greeting and praising of the King outside, for they are also shown in a similar capacity in scenes where the King is rewarding his favourites.

So much we can tell from the tomb pictures, but whether the prayers which are evidently being offered are the same as those contained in the hymns or whether anything remained of the spells and magic needed in the old religion to approach the gods we cannot tell.

For the spiritual significance of the new movement we are dependent on the great Hymn to the Aten which is inscribed in some of the tombs of the nobles. The following is the fuller of the two versions extant:

Thou risest beautifully in the horizon of heaven, O living Aten who creates Life. When thou risest in the eastern horizon, thou fillest every land with thy beauty. Thou art beautiful, great, gleaming and high over every land. Thy rays, they embrace the lands to the limits of all that thou hast made. Thou art Ra and bringest them all, thou bindest them (for) thy beloved son. Thou

art afar off, yet thy rays are on the earth; thou art in the faces (of men), yet thy ways are not known.

When thou settest in the western horizon, the earth is in darkness after the manner of the dead; they sleep in their rooms, their heads are covered and the eye sees not its fellow. All their possessions are stolen from under their heads, and they know it not. Every lion comes forth from its lair, all snakes bite, for darkness is a danger (??). The earth is silent, for he who created it rests in his horizon.

Day dawns when thou risest in the horizon, thou shinest as Aten in the sky and drivest away darkness. When thou sendest forth thy rays the Two Lands are in festivity, the people awake and stand on their feet, for thou hast raised them, their limbs are washed and they take their clothing, their arms are (raised) in adoration at thy appearance.

The whole earth does its work, all cattle rest in their pastures, the trees and herbage grow green, the birds fly up from their nests, their wings are (raised) in praise of thy *Ka*, all goats jump on their feet, all flying and fluttering things live when thou hast shone upon them. The boats sail up-stream and

down-stream likewise, and all ways are open because thou hast appeared. The fish in the river leap before thee, thy rays are in the midst of the Sea. Creator of germ in women, who makest seed in men, who givest life to a son in his mother's womb, who pacifiest him so that he may not cry, a nurse (even) in the womb, who givest breath to vivify all that he has made. When he comes forth from the womb . . . on the day of his birth, thou openest his mouth duly (?) and suppliest his needs. The chick in the egg that chirps while in the shell, thou givest him breath therein to let him live. Thou makest for him his appointed time that he may break it (the shell) in the egg. He comes forth from the egg at the appointed moment to chirp, and he runs on his feet as soon as he comes from it.

How manifold are thy works! They are hidden from the face of men, O sole god, like unto whom there is none other. Thou madest the earth at thy will when thou wast alone:—men, cattle, all animals, everything on earth that goes on its feet, everything that is on high that flies with its wings, the foreign lands, Syria, Kush, and the land of Egypt.

Thou settest every man in his place, and suppliest their needs. Each one has his food, and their days are numbered. Their tongues are diverse in speech, and their forms likewise, their skins are different, for thou hast differentiated the peoples.

Thou makest the Nile in the Underworld; thou bringest it at thy will to cause the people of Egypt to live, for thou hast made them for thyself, O lord of them all, who growest tired through them, O lord of every land who shinest for them, thou Disk of the Day, great of dignity. All the distant lands, thou makest their life. Thou settest a Nile in heaven that it may descend for them and make floods on the mountain like the sea, in order to water their fields in their towns. How excellent are thy plans, thou Lord of Eternity! The Nile in heaven is thy (gift?) to the foreign peoples and all herds that go on their feet, but the (real) Nile comes from the Underworld for Egypt.

Thy rays nourish every field. When thou risest, they live and flourish for thee. Thou makest the seasons in order to create all that thou hast made: Winter to cool them, and the heat (of Summer) that they may taste

thee. Thou hast made heaven afar off in order to shine therein and to see all thou hast made, thou alone, rising in thy form of the living Aten, appearing and shining, afar off and yet close at hand (?). All eyes see thee before them, for thou art the Aten of the day over (the earth). . . .

Thou art in my heart, there is none that knoweth thee but thy son Nefer-kheperu-Ra Wa-en-ra, and thou hast made him wise in thy plans and thy might. The earth exists in thy hand, just as thou hast made them: when thou risest they live; when thou settest they die. Thou thyself art duration of life, by thee do men live. Eyes see beauty until thou settest, but when thou settest on the right hand (the west) all work is laid aside; when thou risest (thou) makest . . . to grow for the king; movement (?) is in every leg since thou hast founded the earth. Thou hast raised them up for thy son, who came forth from thy flesh, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, who lives in Truth, the Lord of the Two Lands, Nefer-kheperu-Ra Wa-en-ra; Son of Ra, who lives in Truth, Lord of Diadems, Akhenaten, whose life is long; (and for) the great royal wife, his beloved, the Mistress of the Two Lands, Nefer-

neferu-Aten, Nefertiti, may she live and grow young for ever and ever. (Hymn to the Aten: Tomb of Ay. Davies, *el-Amarna*, VI, xxvii.)

Now at first glance we seem to have an entirely new outlook. There is an idea of the universality of the god who looks after everyone and everything, in whose eyes Syrian and Egyptian are alike. But this is merely a development of the tendency we have already noticed when the Egyptian horizon was enlarged by Empire. In Amenhotep III's time the twin brothers, Suti and Hor, architects employed at Thebes, inscribed a hymn to Amen as sun-god in which many of the above sentiments appear. Though not explicitly mentioned by name the foreign countries are implied in the lines "Sole Lord, taking captive all lands every day, as one beholding them that walk therein." Internationalism, in fact, had been creeping into religion as into material life for years. Furthermore, the stress which has so often been laid on the fact that Syria is mentioned before Egypt in the Hymn to the Aten should be accepted with reserve. The order of words may well be due to metrical reasons which we can no longer understand,

and it is noteworthy that it is Egypt which possesses the true Nile and that foreign countries have to depend upon an imitation one in heaven which flows down in the rain.

The love of nature displayed both in the art and in the hymns of Amarna is no new thing. In the Hymn to Amen mentioned above occur the lines "Creator of all and giver of their sustenance, Great Falcon of the brilliant plumage . . . Valiant herdsman who drives his cattle, their refuge and their sustenance."

The Aten is a purely creative god. He has made all things living and he has provided for their wants, but there his work ends. There is no feeling that he will reward good or punish evil. There is no sense of sin or indeed of right and wrong.¹ And that is a clue to the Amarna age. It is absolutely unmoral. We can see it most plainly in their art. They have cast aside the standards which had ruled their ancestors. That is why for the first time in the history of Egyptian art we find so many really bad works at the same time as works of the first order. The Egyptians had never sunk below a certain level, even if

¹ This is surely enough to disprove any Syrian or Semitic origin for the movement.

they had not very often risen far above it. But for a parallel to the combination of genius and thoroughly bad art we can only turn to Crete, and it must be remembered that to many people the Minoan civilization gives just the same impression of the unmoral.

Ancient Egyptian morality may not have been of a very high standard. But at least men wrote in their tombs the "Negative Confession," that they had not robbed the widow and orphan, nor had they oppressed the poor. Only once at Amarna is there any touch of the conventional morality. In one short passage in his tomb Tutu says that he did not pervert justice for profit. Otherwise at Amarna there is continual boasting that truth is followed and falsehood spurned. But truth was a fetish with Akhenaten. He always speaks of living in truth, but it was not the truth of Darius the Persian, it was the truth of any wild artist who says "That is how I see it." In any case it is to the King and not to the god that the nobles look for their reward.

It is quite consistent that no theory of any life after death was put forward. That would have implied some standard of behaviour in this world. Perhaps Akhenaten was hoping

to formulate one,¹ but I suspect that death was a thing which he ended by refusing to recognize. It is remarkable that one of his regular titles is "Great in his length of days." Did he really come to believe that he would never die? Is that why the Royal Tomb was never finished? Or was the death of Princess Maketaten such a shock that he could not bear the idea of death and tried to forget about it? It is significant that the only scenes of funerals occur in her burial chamber, where a funeral actually took place, and in the tomb of Huya, who was probably a Theban who had come down with Queen Ty's household. This is in extraordinary contrast to the tombs of the previous age where such elaborate provision was made for the after life.

What the ideas of the common folk were it is hard to say. Their cemetery has not yet been found. But from a stele discovered at the Tomb Chapels it seems clear that other gods were still thought to be of assistance by those who were not in direct touch with the court. It is, however, a sign that the old

¹ It has been pointed out that apart from those of his grandfather Thothmes IV the *shawabti* figures Akhenaten prepared for his tomb are the only ones to have the name alone inscribed with a complete absence of magical texts to cause them to do his work in the next world.

ideas of the next life had been abandoned by all classes that the name of Osiris, god of the dead, is never found. And with the abandonment of the old gods what had the common folk in their place? Nothing. The Aten was too great for them, above their heads. A god who is so universal has no time to worry about May's headache or Sherira's barrenness. There are none of the pathetic appeals to the Aten for help or cure that we find addressed to other gods in happier times. It may be that it did not live long enough as a state religion to be able to permeate the masses of the people. We cannot tell. The people had been given a new god to worship in new ways. They had nothing in common with that god and he had no home in their religious experience. The desire to be in right relation with the divine power could not become effective in so short a time. No wonder that when the crash came the Aten had no friend. All that the people had seen was the proscription of the gods who had made Egypt great and to whom they had been able to address their prayers. All that they saw was the complete anarchy into which not only the Empire but most of Egypt had fallen.

To-day the impression that the art and

civilization of Amarna gives us is that of an ephemeral butterfly age with that total lack of moral standards usually associated with happy morons.

So much has been written about Akhenaten in the character of a Christ before his time that it must be pointed out that Atenism was in no sense a way of life but merely an exercise in theology.

In literature as in everything else a spirit of modernism was abroad. We have not got much to go on, but what survives is significant. The hymns quoted above are written in very much the ordinary classical rather archaizing language which had been practically fixed since the Middle Kingdom four hundred years before. But in the boundary stelæ and in the tombs we begin to find colloquialisms creeping in. Just as at this period for the first time everyday costume is shown on the monuments, so also everyday language and expressions are found in the inscriptions. There must have been at this time, in fact, two languages, as indeed there are to-day in Egypt. One was for official documents and letters and was probably quite as unintelligible to the bulk of the population as legal English is to us. The other was the everyday speech every-

one used in their homes, the living language developing along natural lines. The introduction of this into official literature must have come to many with as great a shock as the colloquialisms in the dramas of Euripides to those accustomed to the grand manner of *Æschylus* and *Sophocles*. *Hamlet* was being played in modern dress with a vengeance.

This popular speech is used for private letters and for notes scribbled on potsherds. Four letters have survived. Two were found at Thebes, written on papyrus from one *Ramose*, an oil-burner in the house of Princess *Meritaten*, to his brother and sister. They are clearly written in the cursive script known as hieratic and begin with the usual elaborate salutations and prayers that no Oriental has ever been able to omit, continuing in an easy chatty style to ask why the writer hasn't had a letter yet and to go into various matters of private business. The other two letters were found at Gurob near the Fayum. They are identical and are addressed to *Akhenaten* himself by one *Apiy*, a royal steward, perhaps the same who later came to Amarna (cf. p. 52). The language is naturally more stilted than in *Ramose's* letters, but it is in distinct contrast to that of the formal monuments.

Unfortunately no papyrus seems to have survived at Amarna, since on papyrus we might discover whether the new state of affairs had made any difference in the art of storytelling. But perhaps we have not lost much, for the XVIIIth Dynasty was a poor period for that and we can hardly imagine Akhenaten encouraging fiction.

VII

CONCLUSION

THERE remains but to point out some of the various problems which await solution. First and foremost must be put the historical problems. The first chapter has given some idea of what they are and of the complexity of the whole subject. The late Professor Peet, most sound and cautious of all archæologists, wrote: "Archæology is seldom an exact science. We are often compelled to mark our advance by a progress from one theory which has been disproved to another which seems better to fit the facts." Thus much may be done by a study of documents already known, by the collation of inscriptions and by collecting all the evidence that is to hand. By such means a workable theory may be formed which will be rightly accepted and taught as history until either a better theory is put forward or some fact is discovered which overthrows it. But certainty can only be obtained by the discovery of fresh documents, and these can only be

brought to light by excavation. It is not enough to wait for their appearance in the hands of a dealer. The value of many is already much diminished by the absence of all record as to where and in what circumstances they were found. For that reason alone the harm to science done by purchasing antiquities is great. Supposing a block turns up on the market inscribed with the name of Smenkhkara, nobody knows where it comes from, for the finder and the dealer are afraid to say. But supposing that block were to have been found during the course of scientific excavation at Thebes, and supposing that all the chips and fragments, too small for a thief to bother about, were collected and joined, we might quite easily find that the inscription when completed gave the whole story of the end of Akhenaten's reign. And such things as that happen every year.

First then must be put the recovery of history or at any rate of the materials, the bones and sinews of it. The excavation of the Central City and the Official Quarters is not yet finished and at any moment a flood of light may be shed on the whole problem. The Central City is naturally the most likely place in which to find official historical records, but we must

not forget that even the private houses have given up their quota. The painted and inscribed plaster in the "niche" of a noble may have much to tell us. A group of statuary or an inscribed vase may have even more. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that we may one day come to an area, such as is the Workmen's Village, to which the white ant has not penetrated. Then there will be the chance of finding papyrus and such perishable records. More cuneiform tablets also may await us. Two have already been found in private houses in the main city as well as those taken by the clerks of the Foreign Office to their homes close by. The present gaps in our knowledge are lamentable and while there is hope of filling them in excavation must proceed. The exact date of the co-option of Akhenaten, the year in which Nefertiti's power first began to wane, the reason for Tutankhamen's remaining at Amarna and the exact length of time he did so—all these questions could be solved by the discovery of a few inscribed potsherds.

Of the actual form of worship too we are desperately ignorant. What prayers were used? Is the Great Hymn to the Aten the only form of liturgy? Did the same ceremony take place in the private chapels as in the Great

Temple? The finds from a single house may tell us.

Then comes the greatest mystery. Where is the cemetery? As we have seen, a great deal about the life of the population is known and nothing about their death. In fifteen years some must have died. What did they take with them? Was old tradition still so strong that the rites and the magic spells were continued? Was the cemetery on the East bank at all? If it is found it should provide us with a great deal of material for reconstructing the furniture and appurtenances of their daily life.

There are still architectural problems to be solved. What are the exact functions of certain rooms? Were there ever large loggia windows from which the master could look out and survey his property? Did the smaller houses substitute a central court for a central room? Is the rule against any wall painting showing a scene with figures invariable in a private house? Was there a regular market? Was there a foreigners' quarter? On what terms did foreigners live? On the results of excavation alone depend the answers.

It has been very reasonably assumed that the most fantastic and grotesque forms of art are to be attributed to the beginning of

Akhenaten's reign before the artists had settled down. Is this really so? Or is it just chance that has given us such works of art inscribed with the early form of the god's name, and will further research reveal that there were two schools at work the whole time? We have suggested that the fall of the Minoan civilization and the resulting dispersal of Minoan artists was responsible for much of the subjectivity and realism of treatment apparent at Amarna. Can this be proved? Is there any trace of a Minoan artist or even of Minoan models? We cannot say for certain until the city has been thoroughly cleared.

As I have said, the Central, Official Part of the City is not yet finished. Another two years should see that done and, what is just as important, published. The Great Palace is the main objective. There are many representations of it in the tombs and it will be our duty to attempt to fit them into the actual plan as it is recovered. Few works of art will be found. Not only did Petrie excavate here and with his extraordinary flair skim the cream from it, but it lies close to the cultivation and to the main road so that the natives have had plenty of opportunities to do their worst. Wall paintings, however, may be expected, and

since this is a Palace it is probable that many of them will consist of pictures in which, we hope, the Royal Family will play their part.

When the excavation of the Central City is completed the work will move North to the North City, where a certain number of houses as well as the great wall and gate and Nefer-titi's Palace have been excavated and published in a preliminary form. Here if anywhere we shall find the clue to much that is obscure in the closing years of Akhenaten's reign.

This done, the rest of the main city to the South will be tackled, as well as the building at the southern entrance to the plain. Here lie some of the largest and most important houses in the whole city as well as hitherto unexcavated quarters of sculptors and artists. The treasure which still lies buried is incalculable. Two areas are known where stone chippings on the surface indicate a mason's or sculptor's house. Already much has been done here, but, thanks to the fact that the Germans have only published their results in a most inadequate preliminary form, the objects which they found can only be regarded as so much loot from random excavations and the scientific knowledge acquired during the course of the work must be considered as lost.

Besides the town site there remains nearly a third of the Workmen's Village, and since that seems to have escaped the attentions of the white ant there is always the chance of recovering valuable information from materials which have elsewhere been eaten away and disappeared. Above the village lie more Tomb Chapels where information may be sought for the religious beliefs of the middle classes, and there is a chance that a few grave shafts have escaped the notice of the native robber and the European excavator.

Furthermore, there should be a number of other carved tombs in the cliffs. Not all the dignitaries whose houses we know in the city have had their tombs brought to light. Ranufer the Master of Horse, Pa-wah a High Priest, Hatiay Overseer of Works, must all surely have been given tombs by the King. Much too may be expected from excavations round the entrances to the tombs already known.

But to two of the most profitable parts of the site we have no clue. One is the general cemetery, and the other is the tomb of Nefer-titi. No objects which must have come from her burial were found in the Royal Tomb. The only clue we have is that in the 'eighties of the last century a body of men was seen

marching down from the high desert with a golden coffin, and shortly afterwards appeared golden objects bearing her name, whether genuine or faked it is hard to say. That is a well-known story and is told of almost every site in Egypt; but, true or false, the possibility remains that someone one day will gaze into the sepulchre of that great and unhappy lady.

PLATES

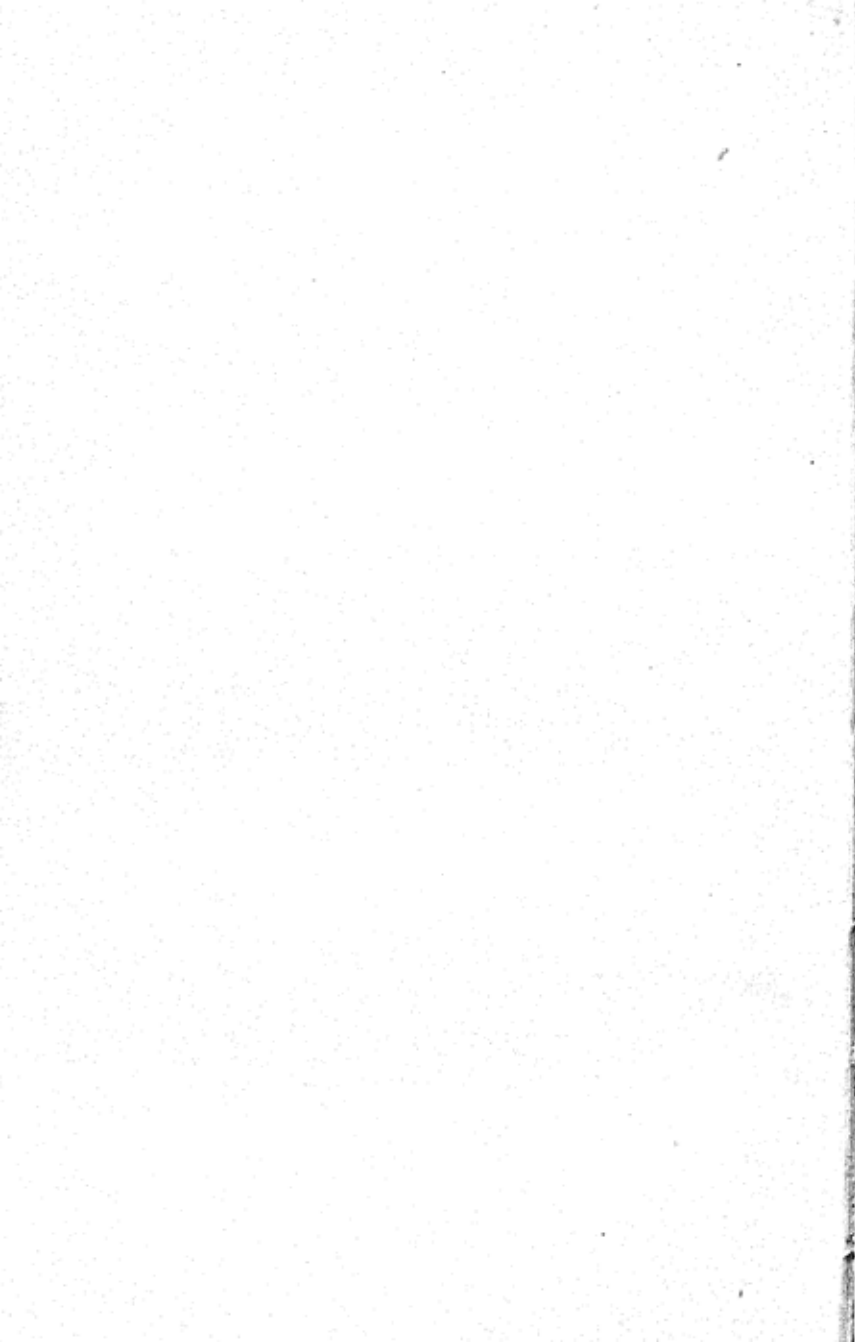


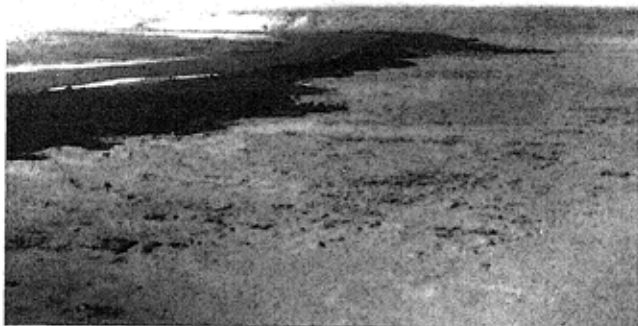
PLATE I



[Photo R.A.F. Crown copyright reserved.]

H. A. W.

1. A view taken from the top of the cliffs at the north end of the site. To the right is the Nile, then a narrow band of cultivation which probably did not exist in those days, for the houses ran down to a waterfront. In the foreground are unexcavated houses of the North City, beyond is the Expedition House, partially rebuilt on the old lines (see Fig. 6). Beyond can be seen the North Palace and in the distance the mounds marking the site of the North Suburb (see p. 38).



[Photo R.A.F. Crown copyright reserved.]

2. An aerial photograph taken from the south. It gives a good idea of the straggling nature of the city. In the distance are seen the North Cliffs from which the previous picture was taken (see p. 38).

PLATE II



[Photo R.A.F. Crown copyright reserved.]

1. An aerial photograph of the Royal Estate from the south. The priests' quarters are nearest, then the private temple "Hat-Aten" with the Sanctuary marked by white chips to the right. Then the King's House and Magazines. The garden beyond is covered with plaster "rendering." A bridge leads across the road (the *Sikket es-Sultan*) to the Palace. In the distance is the Great Temple, at that time unexcavated, and the modern village of Et-Till. (*J.E.A.* XVIII.) (See p. 83.)



2. A view of the "House of the Mycenaean Merchant" after excavation. It gives a good idea of the height to which walls are normally preserved, as well as of the appearance of mud-brick buildings. (*City of Akhenaten*, II. 44.) (See p. 102.)



PLATE III

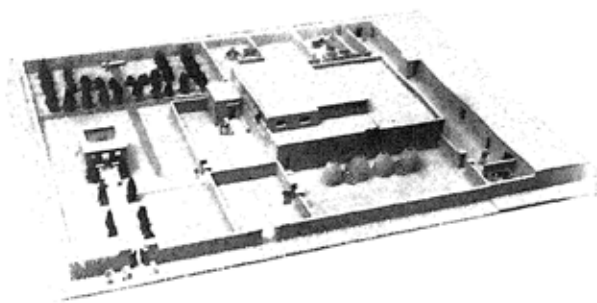


1. A view looking along the corridor separating the reception rooms from the domestic quarters in the house of Hatiay, Overseer of Works. It shows the stone frame of his bedroom door. This is of limestone, painted red, and was found in fragments in the corridor. The doorway is just 6 feet high. Inside is a large socket for a bolt and outside a small hole in which to insert a peg round which string would be wound to seal it from without. (*City of Akhenaten*, II. 63.) (See p. 109.)

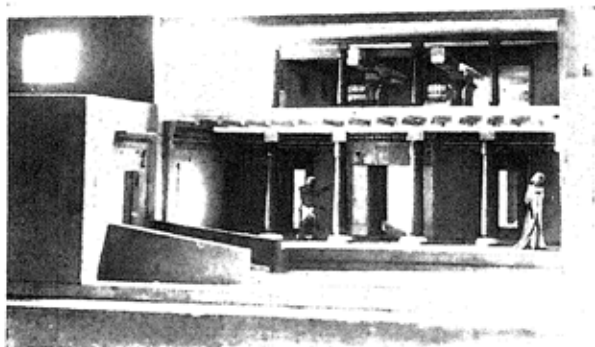


2. The limestone lintel, carved and painted, from over the door to the Central Room of Hatshay's house. It is now in Cairo. It shows Hatshay adorning the names of the God, the King (erased), and the Queen. There is a short prayer. The hieroglyphs of the titles are exquisitely drawn and painted. In the rest are absurd mistakes. The lintel is 7 feet long and it took nearly fifty men to carry it the mile and a half to the Expedition House. The song which they sang while carrying it had as chorus the phrase "By God we're bringing it!" (*City of Abkennet*, II. 63.) (See p. 103.)

PLATE IV



1. View of a model of a house based on T. 36. 11. (see Fig. 5). It was made by Ammonier and decorated by Seton Lloyd. Note the clerestory lighting of the Central Room, the light loggia over the North Hall (this view is taken from the N.W.) and the shape of the corn-bins. (*J.E.A.* XIX.) (See p. 102.)



2. This shows the model with the front wall and the north wall of the Central Room removed. Note the shape of the wooden columns (taken from drawings in tombs), the frieze in the North Hall, the carved lintels, the scheme of beam and rafters and the upper loggia. (*J.E.A.* XIX.) (See p. 102.)



PLATE V



1. Plaster death mask of a woman, perhaps Queen Nefertiti. Part of it was found on the surface of the ground. (Now in the Cairo Museum.) (*J.E.A.* XIX. Discount remarks by a well-known archaeologist in the *Illustrated London News*, 6/5/33.) (See p. 133.)



2. An unfinished sculptor's trial-piece of Nefertiti. (Now in the Brooklyn Museum.) It shows the ink drawing of the original sketch and the rough blocking-out. It was found in a foundation trench in the Temple. 6" high. (*J.E.A.* XIX.) (See p. 134.)

PLATE V



3. A finished sculptor's trial-piece of Nefertiti. (Now in the Cairo Museum.) The back of this slab has a kneeling figure carved on it. It was found like the last in the Temple, 10" high. (*J.E.A.* XIX.) (See p. 134.)



4. A painted limestone bust of Nefertiti. (Now in Berlin.) It was found in the house of the sculptor Thothmes by the German expedition. Life-size. (Borchardt, *Portraits der Königin Nefertiti*, etc.) (See p. 135.)

PLATE VI



1. Limestone statuette of Nefertiti as a middle-aged woman, found in the house of the sculptor Thothmes and now in Berlin. It is not nearly well enough known though it is a triumph of character study. 1' 6" high. (*M.D.O.G.* 52.) (See p. 135.)



2. Head of a princess in quartzite. Found in the North Suburb. Note the length of the skull and the sad lines by the clean-cut mouth. 4" high. (*City of Akhenaten* II. 13.) (See p. 135.)



3. Colossal statue of Akhenaten in limestone, found at Karnak and now in the Cairo Museum. Note the grotesqueness inseparable from the works of the early part of the reign. It is a wonderful pathological study. c. 16' high. (*Annales du Service*, xxviii.) (See p. 129.)



4. Limestone head of Akhenaten from the house of the sculptor Thothmes. (Now in Berlin.) It shows the more refined type of sculpture characteristic of the middle and latter part of the reign. Life-size. (Schaefer, *Religion and Kunst in Aegypten*, Plate, 14.) (See p. 135.)



1. Statuette of a private individual in painted limestone. (Now in Cairo.) It was found in the North Suburb. The single lotos reminds us of the aesthetes of the Oscar Wilde school! $7\frac{1}{2}$ " high. (*City of Akhenaten*, II, 43.) (See p. 137.)



2. Carved and painted plaque of limestone probably representing Amenhotep III and Tiye. There is an air of gentle decadence about the figures and the wind seems nearly to sweep them away. It is in the Berlin Museum. 10" high. (Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, Plate 33.) (See p. 138.)



3. Fresco from the King's House, discovered by Petrie in 1891, charmed by magic from the wall and transported to England, where it is in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. It is part of a larger scene which shows the whole of the Royal Family. The Queen's head can be seen to the right. Nefer-neferu-aten "the little" and Nefer-neferu-aten are seen playing on the floor. On Neferiti's knee was the youngest, Setepenra, while between their parents, the three eldest princesses stood on a footstool, Meritaten embracing Maketaten and Ankhnesenpaaten. (Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, pp. 15 and 23. Reconstruction of whole scene by Davis, *J.E.A.* VII.; further fragments found by present writer, *J.E.A.* XVIII.) (See p. 128.)

PLATE VIII



1. This fresco was found in the North Palace by Newton. It is a very good example of the love of nature displayed by the Amarna artist with his "snapshots" of kingfishers and water-fowl. (*The Mural Paintings of el-Amarna*, p. 64.) (See p. 131.)



2. This is a fresco from the small palace at Agia Triada in the south of Crete. It was found in the Italian excavations and is now in the Candia Museum. It is of "Middle Minoan III" date and therefore some 200 years earlier than any Amarna frescoes, but it shows the similarity of outlook in the love of nature and the avoidance of all human interest by the Minoan and by the Amarna outlook. (Halbherr, *Monumenti Antichi*, XIII, p. 58.) (See p. 131.)



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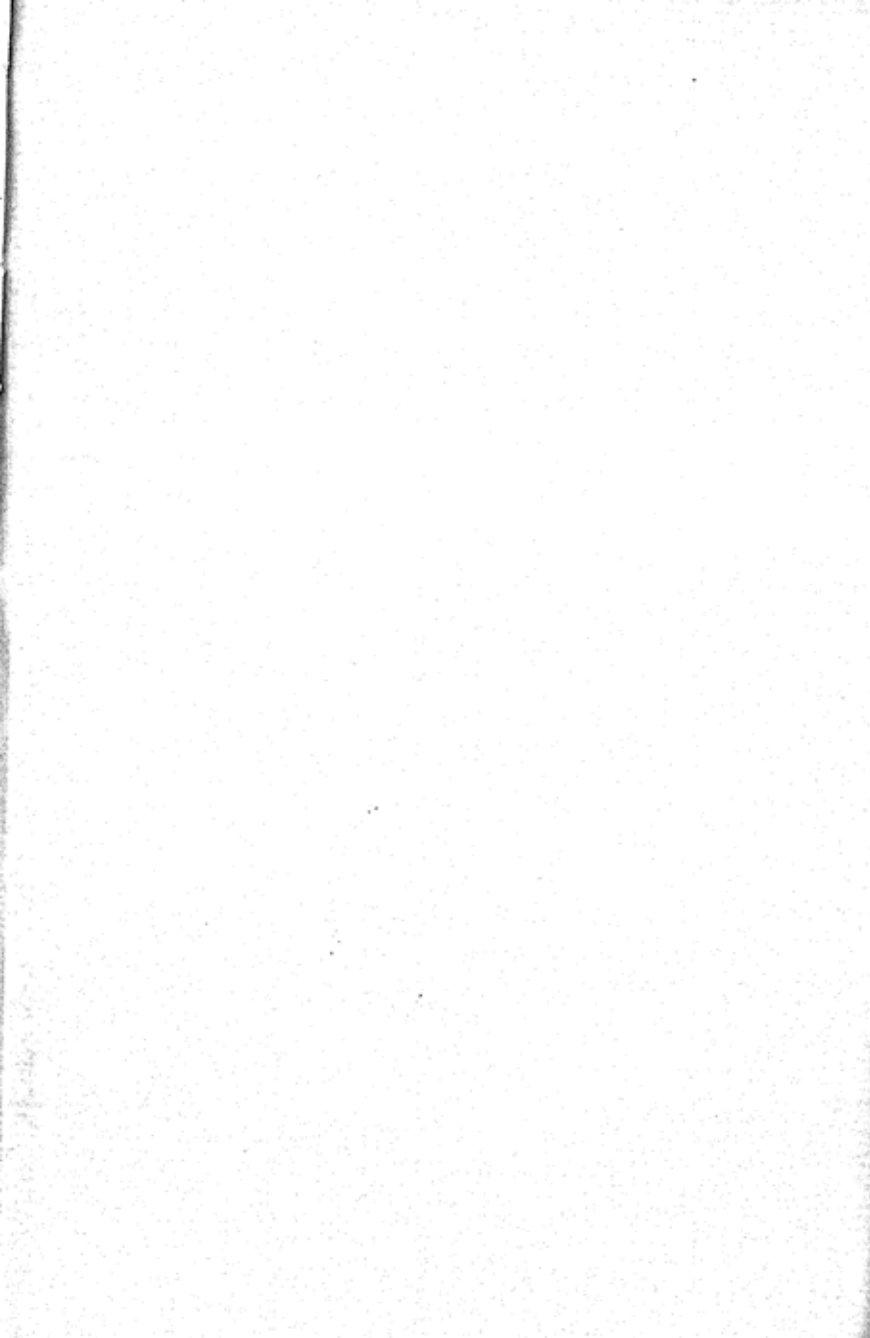
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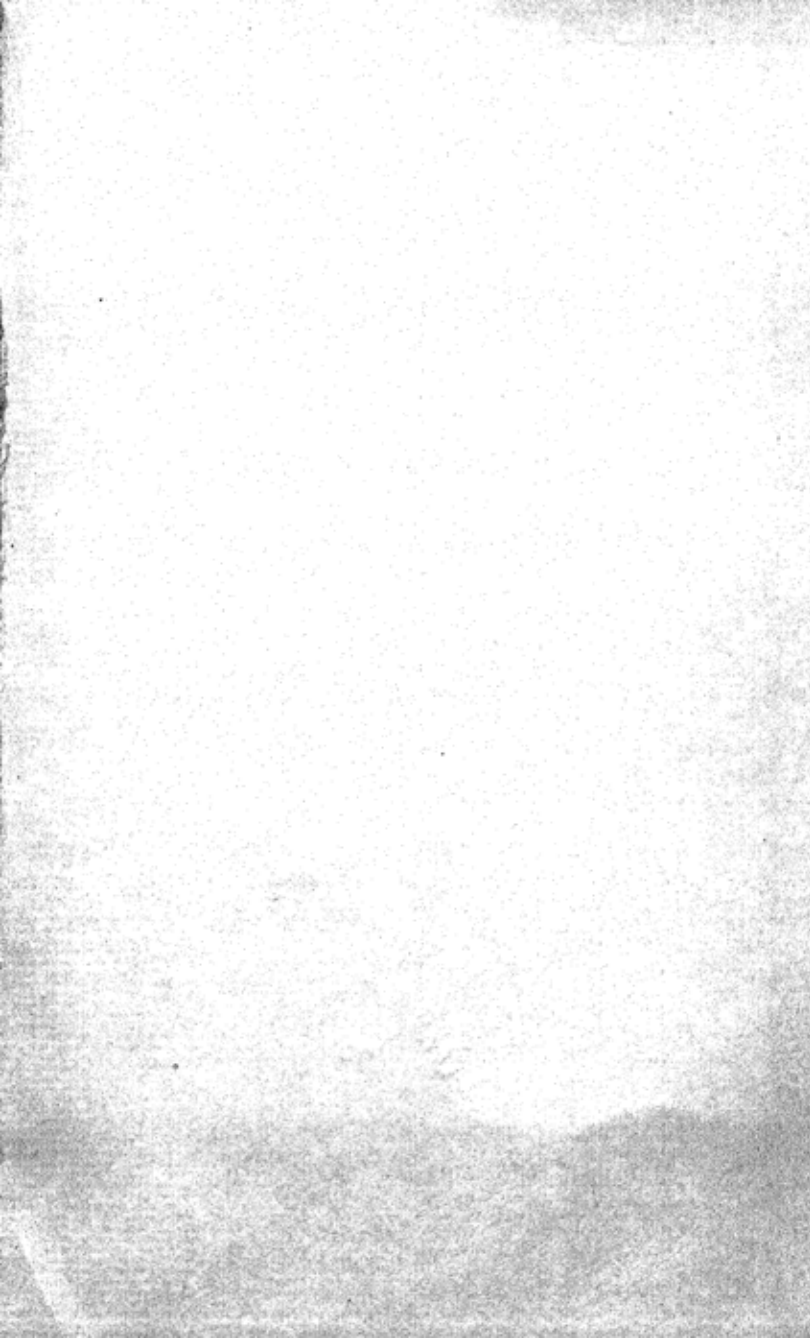
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